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GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN

ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1926-1937

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GENERAL REVIEW

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This is a condensed report on the administration of the Bahrain Government during the last eleven years, though in some subjects the report goes further back than 1926. The report is based upon the annual reports on financial and government departments which are made every year. It is an administration report dealing mainly with the activities of the Bahrain Government and it does not describe in detail the various political and commercial changes which have taken place and which have affected Bahrain during the period under review, such as the transfer of the Naval Base from Henjam to Bahrain, the inclusion of Bahrain as a port of call on the Empire air route, and the long negotiations which finally resulted in the development of the Bahrain oil field by the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited, who have now succeeded in making Bahrain the twelfth largest oil-producing country in the world. This last decade has been an important period in the history of Bahrain: it has been a time of change and transition. During the last ten or eleven years the changes and reforms which were made by the Ruler, His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad, when he took over control from his father have become firmly established, and the administration of the country has been developed through its people on sufficiently Western lines to keep apace with the needs of the local inhabitants and the ever-increasing important foreign population. In other Gulf States, Bahrain is considered very progressive; the wish to be progressive comes from the people themselves, it is not forced upon them by the Government.

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During the period under review the State has suffered violent financial fluctuations; first comfortable prosperity based on the pearl trade, then severe financial depression resulting in drastic curtailment of all activity and expansion, then recovery and a sudden tremendous increase in revenue which, in my opinion, would have been more advantageous if it had come gradually. This sudden change from poverty to affluence creates problems and conditions which are almost more difficult to deal with than those resulting from the need for economy. A period of great financial prosperity, provided that oil does not run dry, appears to be starting now for Bahrain, and I think it is a suitable time to make some record of the developments which the Bahrain Government carried out in the past years and which were financed from revenue produced from other sources than oil royalties. While fully appreciating the fact that if oil had not been found the financial position of Bahrain would be deplorable, it should be remembered that most of the existing improvements in Bahrain, such as electric power, sea roads, causeways, schools, and municipalities, came into being before the oil era.

C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE.

December, 1937

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FINANCE

651 **Revenue.** Until two years ago almost the whole revenue of the State was derived from the customs dues upon imports whose quantity depended mainly
652 upon the success of the pearl trade. Pearls themselves have never been taxed, although it has frequently been stated in the European press that Bahrain derived its revenue from direct taxation of pearls. It has been the consistent policy of the Government to encourage the diving industry by charging no dues on the import and export of pearls. The pearl trade was formerly the only local industry of any importance in Bahrain.

During the first four or five years of the period under review, for which I give the financial figures for twelve years in this report, Bahrain was in a prosperous condition and dependent for its revenue upon local resources. Probably few countries in the world which can boast of any form of administration have been subject to such slight taxation as Bahrain. Apart from the 5% customs tax on imports, no form of taxation existed in Bahrain except a small municipal house tax in Manamah and in Muharraq. Land tax, date-tree tax, Ashur and Zikat have never been levied, and the country people pay no taxes except the duty on imports. This condition is very different from that existing in neighbouring States such as Persia and Saoudi Arabia.

During the first few years of the period mentioned in this report the average revenue was about eleven lakhs per annum, and this sum in those days was sufficient for the administration of the country as well as for carrying out various important public improvements, including sinking artesian wells, installing electric light and power, and constructing some important works such as roads and buildings.

In 1348 (June 1929—May 1930) there was an alarming fall in the revenue due to the slump in the pearl trade which was owing to general financial depression in Europe, and especially the increasing competition of cultured pearls which were produced in Japan. From then, until money began to pour in from oil, the income of the State decreased rapidly, and the financial future of the State caused the gravest anxiety to those who controlled its finances. In spite of drastic economies, reductions in staff and cuts in the Civil List and in the pay of all Government servants, it became necessary to draw upon the very small reserve fund during two years, in order to provide for the much-reduced annual expenditure which was required for the maintenance of the administration and the protection of the country.

It was fortunate that at that time the State had no heavy financial obligations to meet, such as repayment of loans or outstanding debts on account of public works. By reducing expenditure by cuts in pay and by increasing the 5% *ad valorem* customs duty to 10% on certain luxury articles, and to 15% on tobacco and liquor in 1352 (April 1933—April 1934), and by appropriation from the Reserve Fund, it was possible to weather the storm. This could not have been done without the co-operation of the general public, the Ruling Family, and all Government employees, who appreciated the position and accepted the changes without opposition.

The most acute years of the crisis in Bahrain were 1351 and 1352 (May 1932—April 1933 and April 1933—April 1934). In these years the revenue shrunk to Rs 6,84,000/- and Rs 7,26,000/-. In 1353 (April 1934—April 1935), the Bahrain Government sold to the British Government three large areas on Muharraq island and Manamah, from which the net profit to this Government was just over one lac. Although this sum was not normal revenue, it was included in the revenue of the year and it enabled me to balance the Budget.

During 1354 over five lakhs were received from the oil royalty, the total revenue was Rs 13,40,000/-, which was one lakh more than any previous year. At the end of the year the Reserve Fund was increased from two lakhs to four lakhs, cuts in pay were restored, and increased expenditure was authorised for State Protection and Public Services, including medical and educational services and the monthly grants to the municipalities, which had been reduced by 50%, were restored to the previous amount. The oil payment was made at the very end of the year and it was very much greater than that shown in the Budget for 1354.

The revenue for 1355 (March 1936—March 1937) was Rs 16,47,000/-, of which Rs 6,92,000/- was oil royalty.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the Sheikh depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

Year.	Customs Revenue.	Other Revenue.	Oil Royalty.	Total.	Remarks.
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
1344 ...	8,82,000 ...	1,80,000 ...	— ...	10,62,000 ...	
1345 ...	10,68,000 ...	3,37,000 ...	— ...	14,05,000 ...	
1346 ...	11,43,000 ...	97,000 ...	— ...	12,40,000 ...	
1347 ...	11,24,000 ...	91,000 ...	— ...	12,15,000 ...	
1348 ...	9,98,000 ...	1,36,000 ...	— ...	11,34,000 ...	
1349 ...	6,89,000 ...	1,28,000 ...	— ...	8,17,000 ...	
1350 ...	6,85,000 ...	1,19,000 ...	— ...	8,04,000 ...	
1351 ...	6,00,000 ...	84,000 ...	— ...	6,84,000 ...	
1352 ...	6,08,000 ...	89,000 ...	29,000 ...	7,26,000 ...	
1353 ...	6,57,000 ...	1,63,000 ...	67,000 ...	8,87,000 ...	
1354 ...	6,91,000 ...	83,000 ...	5,68,000 ...	13,42,000 ...	
1355 ...	8,74,000 ...	81,000 ...	6,92,000 ...	16,47,000 ...	

THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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The Levy Corps.

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naiurn,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafia and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Bedeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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Political Disturbances.

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

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On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself. 579 701

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until that morning, and consequently the criminals escaped. 579 643

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

Indian Levy Corps.

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed. 701 625

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 562 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common [162] with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners [164] earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

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Above
A Policeman

Below
Police on Parade

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[facing p. 10]

276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

273 Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated-spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

697 **The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

625 **The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

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ment, and physique passes a standard test. The competition to enlist is due partly to the lack of employment among divers and partly to the change in public feeling towards the police. A few years ago the Shaikhs and the local people took no interest in them; now they have developed a patriotic pride in them, and when the police give a display the whole town flocks to see them.

Many of the police are divers, but men who have very heavy debts are not taken on. While serving in the police, men who owe money to Nakhudas refund Rs 5/- every month to their Nakhudas, and in this way many of the police have entirely paid off their debts. Usually, when a diver enlists, his Nakhuda reduces the man's debt by 20% or 30%, provided that the diver remains in the police until he has paid off the balance by instalments.

Policemen are enlisted for a period of four years; their pay is Rs 25/- per month, and in addition they receive Rs 3/- per month clothing allowance and are issued with uniform, rations, and quarters. About fifty married men occupy houses in the married lines. There is great need for more married quarters, and their construction is under consideration. It is in every way more satisfactory for married men to keep their wives in the Fort than outside in the town.

Recruits do a six months' training course, which is a modified version of the Indian Army recruits' course. It includes drill, musketry, bayonet fighting, and lathi drill. On completion of training they are drafted into sections. They respond well to training and soon acquire smartness which makes them distinguishable when they are walking out in mufti in the town. The best type of recruits are men who are partly Arab and partly negro; these combine the physique of the African and the quicker mentality of the Arab.

Administration and Routine. The police force is divided into fourteen sections and the headquarters, which consists of the senior N.C.O.'s, Indian instructors, the band, and men employed on special duties such as court work, hospital orderly, etc., etc. Duties such as jail guards, outposts, bazaar beats, are carried out by each section in turn, so that every man becomes acquainted with all various duties. Owing to the number of men employed on duties, it is rarely possible to muster more than forty men on the daily parades, which are held every morning except Fridays, and on four afternoons of the week. On the other afternoons the men play games, hockey, and football. The normal duties include outposts at Hedd, Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp, and Sakhir, guards at the Political Agency, the Quarter guard and police station, steamer parties, bazaar patrol, traffic duties, and guards on prison parties working outside the Fort. In addition to their normal duties, the police frequently provide guards of honour and sometimes take part in ceremonial parades either by themselves or with contingents of the British Navy. Three times every year the police go out for a route march round the island and are in camp for five or six days. On these occasions they carry their tents, kit, and food and are a self-contained unit; the transport is either donkeys or the police lorry.

Changing Nature of Duties. Owing to the rapidly changing conditions in Bahrain, the duties of the police are becoming more difficult and more complicated. When the present force was started the police had to deal with a comparatively simple and ignorant people and a small number of more sophisticated and educated Arabs and Indians. They are now brought into contact with a large English-speaking community and an ever-increasing number of educated Asiatic foreigners, most of whom speak no Arabic. Many of these people are inclined to resent the authority of the police, and frequently individual policemen are called upon to deal with situations which require considerable tact. They are at a disadvantage, being entirely uneducated and usually unable to speak the language of the person they have to deal with. There are only two men in the police who can speak English, and about half a dozen who can read and write Arabic. In the summer of 1934, Haji Sulman bin Jasim, the superintendent of police, died suddenly. His death was a great loss to the State as, in addition to his administrative qualities, he was very good at criminal investigation. This branch of police work is now being done by Havildar Mahmood, and the other Havildar, Ali Mirza, is responsible for the discipline and interior organisation of the force. One of the developments which has caused most work for the police is the sudden increase in motor traffic. On the average there are about ten motor accidents every month which have to be investigated and reported, and the checking of driving and car licences, as well as traffic supervision, has become one of the most important duties.

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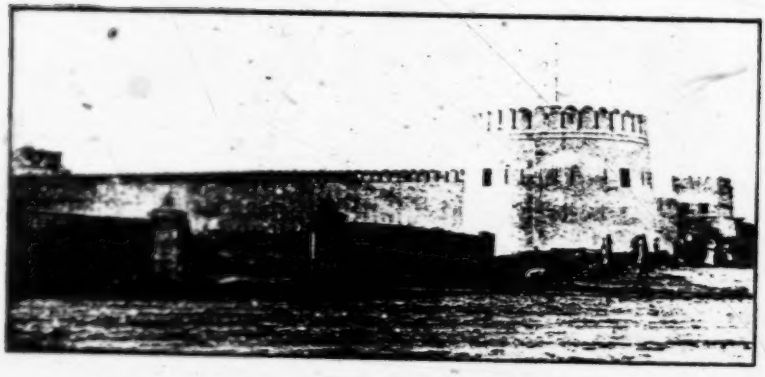

Tower of Fort

Prison Yard

[facing p. 12]

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625 **Recent Innovations.** Three times during the last ten years the composition of the police force has entirely changed. First it was a Levy Corps of Muscat Baluchis, then ex-Indian Army Punjabis, and finally the present force, whose development and training dates from about 1930. During the last six years, though expansion and development has been restricted owing to the need for economy, various innovations and improvements have been carried out. Necessary alterations were made in the Fort, which is an ancient building of mud and stone, whose walls constantly crumble and subside. Two large, airy barrack rooms were built, and a large swimming tank was constructed in a corner of the barrack yard. A police station was built in the turbulent town of Hedd, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, who have a rooted objection to law and order, and a police post was built at Budeya where a section of Naturs are now stationed. A police post with a lock-up and a flagstaff has a salutary effect on both these places, which have always been resentful of control.

533 **Police Band.** The police band, consisting mostly of younger brothers of policemen, was started about two years ago. At first the band played entirely from ear, but in 1936 an Indian ex-army bandmaster was obtained as an instructor, and the band has now learned to play from music. A few years ago, during the visit of the Chief-in-Command, East India Squadron, the bandmaster of the marine band composed a national anthem for the Shaikh of Bahrain, which is now played on suitable occasions, and perhaps eventually the public will recognise it as a national anthem.

Camel Section. In 1935 a camel section was started, consisting of a dozen men mounted on camels which were provided by the Ruler. The N.C.O. in charge, a Sudanese, served in Egypt in the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and most of the men are manumitted slaves. The object of the mounted section is to patrol the coast and more inaccessible parts of the islands and to catch smugglers and persons landing without passports. The section has learned the regular camel drill; it presents a very smart appearance when on parade. Another section mounted on ponies is now being organised.

Shooting. The police, on the whole, are good at shooting, and during the last two years they have competed in a number of shooting matches with teams from the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division and teams from the Englishmen and Americans employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. In most cases the police have won the matches, sometimes beating their opponents by a large score. At the beginning of the present year a new system has been brought into force by which every man will fire a course during the year, and there will be a yearly inter-section competition. There are several unusually good shots among the police, and the men all show great keenness.

714 **Uniforms.** The uniform of the police has passed through many changes in the last ten years. The original town police wore round black Persian caps, second-hand, ill-fitting khaki tunics originally used by the English Army, and long trousers. They now wear khaki shirts and shorts, putties and sandals, and scarlet turbans as worn by certain Egyptian Army regiments, Somaliland Camel Corps, and Egyptian Camel Corps. In the winter they wear woollen jerseys and military overcoats.

Police Training in India. During the last two years two parties of six N.C.O.'s and men were sent to the 10th Baluch Regiment at Karachi for a course of nine months' military training. The experiment has been very successful, and the value of the men as policemen has greatly increased owing to their training with the Indian Army. Had the men been able to speak Urdu they would have learnt more, but in each batch only one or two had any knowledge of the language. Any future experiments of this kind would, I am sure, be more successful if they took place in an Arabic-speaking country such as Iraq or Egypt. The training with the Army, and seeing a foreign country, has given the men who went to India more confidence in themselves than they had before.

Two years ago, Naik Abdel Kerim, the son of the late superintendent of police, was sent to India for six months and attached for training to the Karachi police. The experiment was a success, but in this case the man could speak both English and Urdu, which enabled him to learn easily.

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THE NATURS

625 The naturs consist of about 150 men who are employed in Manamah and Muharraq as town watchmen. Although they are armed with rifles, they do no drill and are not instructed in musketry or shooting. They are under the command of the Amirs of Manamah and Muharraq. Their chief duty is to patrol the bazaars and streets of the two towns during the night and to assist the police in any emergency. They are a cheap and useful force and an effective preventative against theft. They are paid Rs 25/- per month and they receive no rations or clothing except a white shirt and a headdress which they wear on official occasions. Men who are likely candidates for the police are frequently posted to the natur force until a vacancy occurs in the police; in this way they get some training before becoming policemen. The naturs are especially useful for investigation work and are frequently used in liquor and opium cases. In spite of occasional friction between the Amirs and the police N.C.O.'s, the naturs and the police work well together.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT AND REVENUE

647 **Organisation and Establishment.** The Customs Department in its present form has existed for about fourteen years. Before then the late Ruler was in the habit of farming out the customs to certain Hindu merchants, which was unsatisfactory both to the State and to the mercantile community. In 1923 the Government of India lent to the Bahrain Government a special officer to organise a regular customs department which was based on Indian methods and the Bill of Entry system. In 1924, Mr. C. L. deGrenier was appointed Director of Customs, and he continues to hold the post. The institution of a regular customs system and department was appreciated by the public.

The customs was the first organised department of the Government, and in the beginning it acted as a general revenue department and dealt with many other matters besides customs; even now the collection of pearling and boat licences and registration of craft is done through the customs department.

The customs staff consists of the Director of Customs and nine senior Indian clerks, mostly men of long service, and about a dozen local clerks, of whom eight joined the department from the Government schools. In addition to the clerical staff there are about twenty-five naturs, many of whom are Bahrain-born Baluchis, the descendants of the Baluchi bodyguard who have been attached to the Khalifah shaikhs for many years. Customs officials are posted at Muharraq and at Sitra. There is no regular preventive service, as the local police and naturs are employed to detect cases of smuggling.

651 **Revenue.** **1. Customs Duty.** Customs revenue is obtained from customs duties and Import Yard charges. Duty is assessed *ad valorem*, according to the local market value, but in practice the invoice price of goods is normally accepted for assessment of duty.

Until 1351 (1932-33), customs duty on goods of every kind was 5%; liquor was imported free of customs duty as it was regarded as an immoral import. In 1351 the duty on certain luxury articles was raised to 7½% and then to 10%, and the duty on tobacco and its products was raised to 15%, and 15% was charged on liquor.

2. Import Yard charges. Khanchieh. There is no demurrage or bonded warehouse system in Bahrain. Khanchieh, which is a ground rent for space in the customs premises occupied by imported goods, is charged according to a scale of fixed charges based, not upon value, but roughly on the size of packets. Nothing is charged for the first ten days, but after ten days a charge is made, and also every ensuing ten days.

3. **Porterage.** Porterage is charged for moving cargo from the pier to the sheds.

4. **Pier Fees.** Wharfage is charged according to a fixed tariff and includes 'Biladiya,' or municipal tax, which has now been abolished as a separate charge.

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5. Landing Company. The British India Steam Navigation Company's agents have a concession from the Bahrain Government to operate a landing company which is authorised to convey cargo from steamers to the pier. They charge landing fees according to a schedule authorised by the Government, and the Company pays to the Government 5% of its total collections.

The cost of importing normal cargo, at the 5% rate, including all outside costs such as landing fees, import yard charges, etc., amounts to approximately 10%. This amount is not high considering that there is no other form of taxation in Bahrain.

(*a*) Mainland Cargo. Bahrain is, to a great extent, a distributing centre for the mainland ports; most of the imports into Saoudi Arabia pass through Bahrain, and for this reason various special systems have been arranged to deal with the transit trade. Until about sixteen years ago, imports through Bahrain which were re-exported to the mainland were charged the same duty as imports into Bahrain. In 1921 the duty on re-exported goods was reduced from 5% to 2%, and during the last ten years further changes have been made.

(*b*) Optional Cargo System. In 1349 (1930-31) the *Optional Cargo System* was introduced. Under this system cargo imported into Bahrain, but intended for re-export to certain specified mainland ports, is charged full import duty, but is eventually liable for 2% only when the shipping bills are returned endorsed from the ultimate destination.

(*c*) Transhipment Cargo. Transhipment cargo is cargo transferred by boats from steamer to native craft direct; 1¾% duty is charged on such cargo for certain specified ports and 2% for other ports provided that not less than 100 packages are transferred at once.

Transit Cargo. Transit cargo is cargo destined to other ports which is landed in Bahrain awaiting shipment. On this cargo 1¾% is charged, and also the import yard charges.

The reduction in duty on goods for certain mainland ports in Saoudi Arabia from 2% to 1¾% was made in 1354 (1935-36) as the result of negotiations by a delegation sent by His Majesty King Ibn Saoud to Bahrain to discuss various commercial matters with the Bahrain Government.

Harbour dues are charged only in the case of foreign launches which are not registered in Bahrain; no harbour dues are charged on native craft, although they are charged in all other ports.

Export Dues, Boat-Building. The only exports from Bahrain are dates, shells, animals' skins, and pearls. There is no export duty on pearls, but on the other commodities export duty is levied which amounts to approximately 5%. The only local industry of any importance is boat-building. This in the past was a flourishing trade, but with the slump in the pearl market, boat-building has declined. This table shows the numbers of boats built in Bahrain:

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Year.	*Boats.*	*Launches.*
1346	76	10
1347	100	12
1348	70	28
1349	27	13
1350	18	2
1351	10	1
1352	21	2
1353	25	1
1354	21	4
1355	8	5

The customs collections during the last ten years are shown on the attached graph. The peak year was 1346 (July 27th, 1928); from 1346 until 1351 the revenue decreased each year to an alarming extent; in 1352 it began to improve, mainly owing to the increase in rates of duty which

was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

Customs Improvements. The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

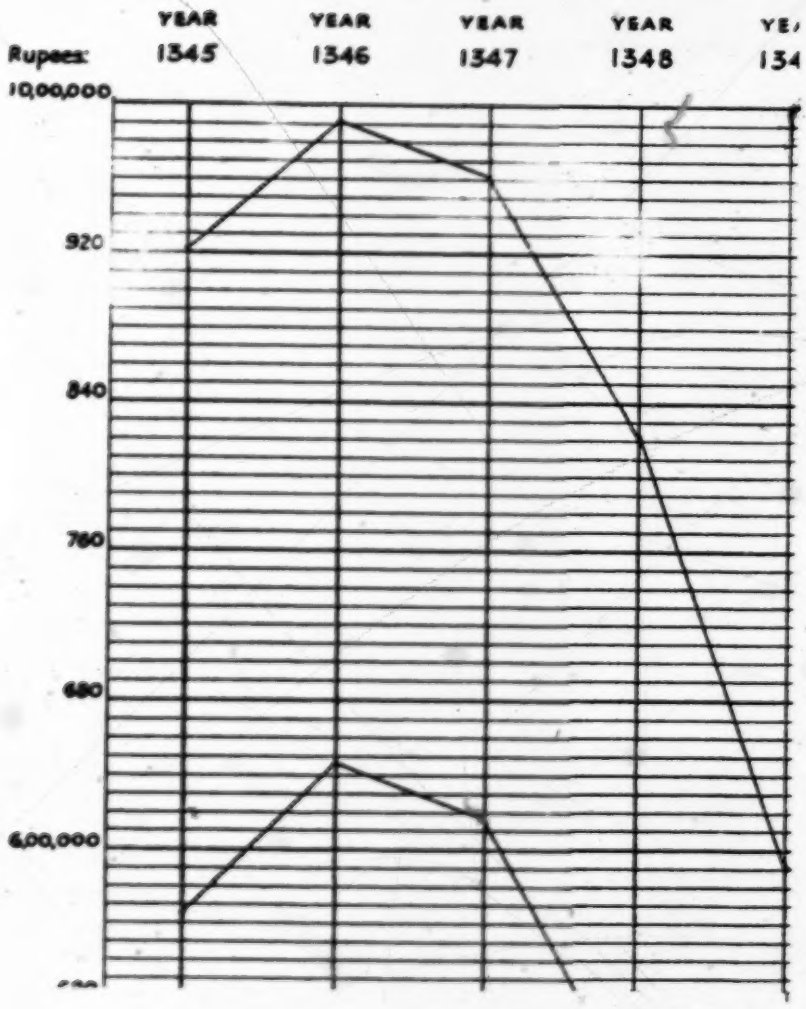
Steamship Lines. In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

Future Improvements. An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

A decade of Cus



[facing p. 16 A]

ustoms Progress

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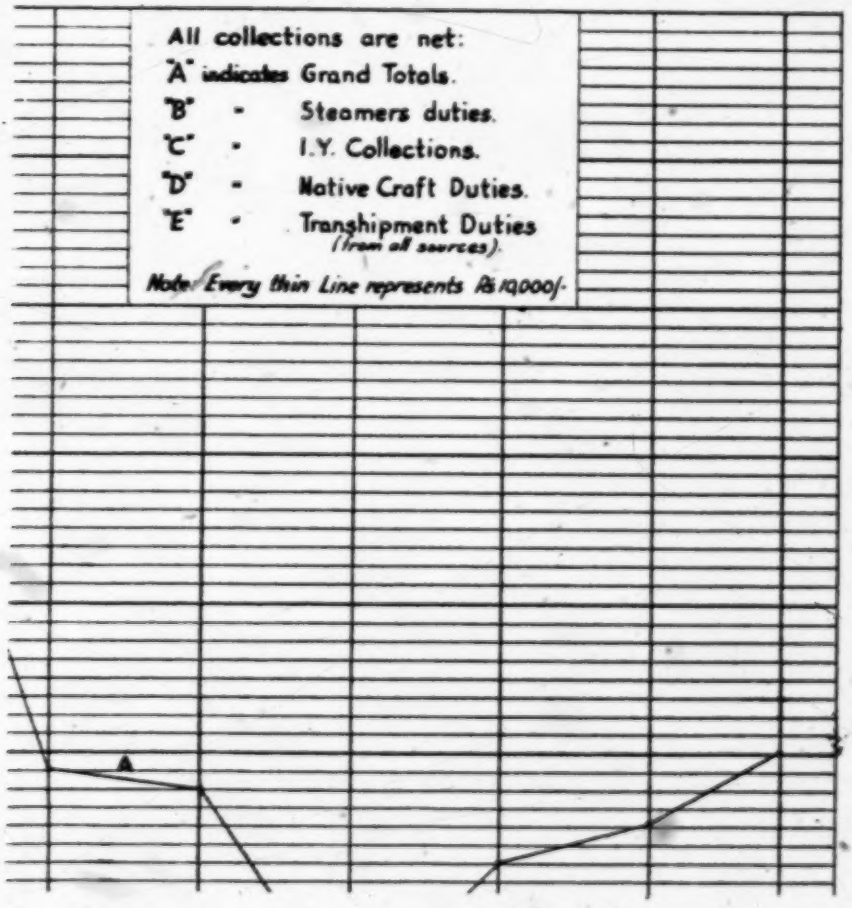
YEAR	YEAR	YEAR	YEAR	YEAR	YEAR
1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354


All collections are net:
"A" indicates Grand Totals.
"B" - Steamers duties.
"C" - I.Y. Collections.
"D" - Native Craft Duties.
"E" - Transhipment Duties
(from all sources).
Note: Every thin Line represents Rs 10,000/-
A

[Pacing p.16 B]

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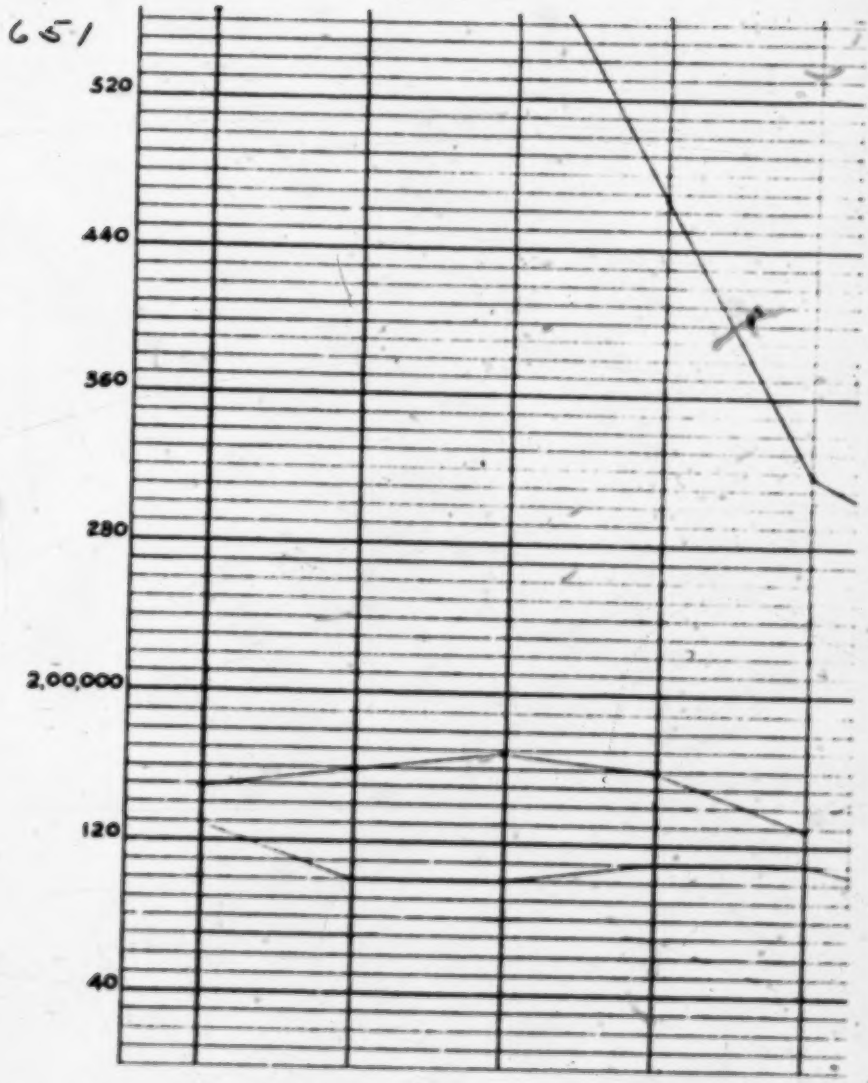

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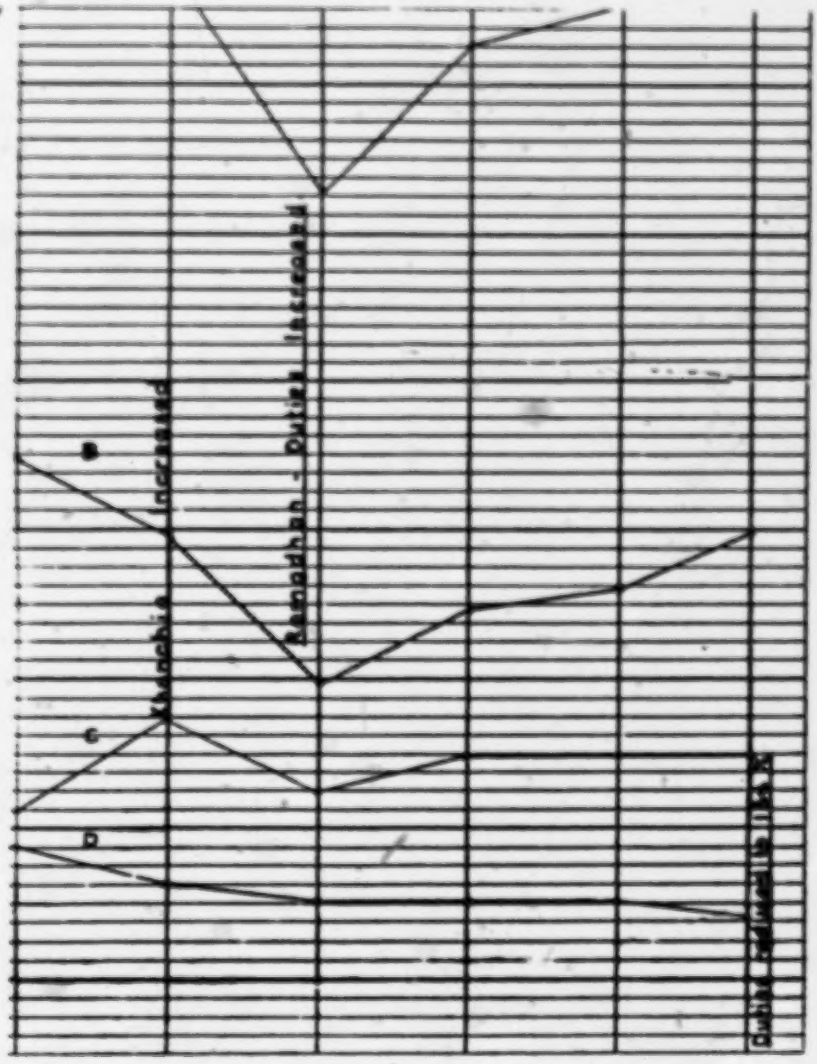

[facing p. 16 D]

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and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more steam work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

Year.	Customs Receipts.	No. of Steamers.	Remarks.
1344 ...	8,82,000 ...	— ...	A poor pearling season.
1345 ...	9,62,000 ...	— ...	Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar.
1346 ...	10,58,000 ...	— ...	Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season.
1347 ...	10,50,000 ...	118 ...	Bazaars becoming overstocked.
1348 ...	8,95,000 ...	— ...	Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%.
1349 ...	6,36,000 ...	96 ...	Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt.
1350 ...	6,10,000 ...	97 ...	Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopoline piece-goods trade.
1351 ...	5,46,000 ...	104 ...	Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to [illegible]% and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market.
1352 ...	5,58,000 ...	149 ...	Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-.
1353 ...	6,01,000 ...	174 ... (20 oil tankers)	Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased.
1354 ...	6,50,000 ...	195 ... (19 oil tankers)	Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading.
1355 ...	8,28,000 ...	251 ...	Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading.

PRICES OF COMMODITIES

4/35

Commodity	Year 1929.	Year 1934.	Year 1935.
Ballam	16/- ...	9/8 ...	10/8
Kansch	13/- ...	7/8 ...	8/-
Rangoon	13/- ...	7/8 ...	8/-
Sugar, lump	19/- ...	12/- ...	10/8
Sugar, crystal	16/- ...	11/- ...	9/8
Sugar, loaf	14/- ...	9/- ...	8/8
Wheat flour, Indian	17/- ...	11/- ...	11/-
Wheat flour, Iraqi	— ...	7/8 ...	6/8
Tea, black	45/- ...	40/- ...	75/-

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JUDICIAL

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The impartial administration of justice in the Bahrain courts is, in my opinion, the most difficult problem which is dealt with by the Government. The impartiality of magistrates and members of various courts is constantly liable to be affected by causes outside the court. Too often claims are not decided only on the merits of the case but partly by the amount of outside interest which the parties can bring to bear on members of the courts. The reason for such interference in cases is chiefly due to the fondness of the local inhabitants of Bahrain of concerning themselves in their neighbours' affairs: people who are not really affected by a case frequently involve themselves in it with the laudable desire to make a compromise, and if the case is already being heard, such action causes complications. When, as is often the case, the interceders are the relations of the magistrate it is difficult for the magistrates to disregard outside pressure. Other matters which make the work of the courts difficult are the jealousy which the Shera courts feel towards the civil courts, the sectarial differences between the Sunnis and the Shias, and the fact that because Bahrain is such a small place—especially in the courts such as the Meglis Tajara, whose members are a number of local merchants—the parties in most of the cases are usually connected with one or more of the members of the court either by relationship or through commercial or other channels. Another practice which affects the administration of justice is the ingrained habit of the Arabs of Bahrain of visiting the Ruler themselves to complain about the judgments in his courts instead of making an appeal to him in the prescribed manner. Perhaps, however, it is not surprising that the people of Bahrain have not yet become legally minded, as regular Bahrain courts have only existed for a little more than ten years.

Institution of Courts.

The first regular Bahrain court to be instituted was the Joint Court, presided over by the Ruler and the Political Agent, to deal with cases brought by foreign subjects against Bahrain nationals. In 1926 the Bahrain Court was created to judge cases between Bahrain subjects. In the beginning it consisted of myself and Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman, a somewhat obscure member of the Ruling Family. There was also a court known as the Meglis Urfi, which consisted of three or four local merchants. This court, in one form or another, had been in existence for many years, and in 1926 it acted in an advisory capacity in cases where questions of local practice or commercial custom were involved. The Shera courts consisted of the Sunni and the Shia Kadhis. The former, Shaikh Jasim, was over eighty years old and quite blind, and the latter, Shaikh Khalaf, was not much younger; both these Kadis were more influential than any of their predecessors have been. They had no regular courts or records, and heard cases in their houses or in mosques. Diving cases were decided by the Political Agent or by the Bahrain Court.

The Bahrain Court.

The Bahrain Court is the highest court of the Bahrain Government, from whose decisions appeal lies only to the Ruler himself. In the last ten years it has seen various changes. In 1926 (1344-45), owing to a family dispute, Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman gave up court work and his place was taken by Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed, who sat on the court, intermittently, for about eight years. On several occasions he retired from the court for some months. During the summer of 1934 he sat alone on the court while I was absent on leave, and in the autumn of that year a certain faction of the Shia Baharna of Manamah organised a disturbance and made serious complaints about various different matters, including the administration of justice by the Bahrain Court. Shaikh Sulman again retired from the Court, and since then he has shown no inclination to return to it. In 1935 Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed and Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamed were appointed as magistrates on the Bahrain Court, both having sat for several years on other courts, and since then they have occupied this post, an arrangement which seems to be generally satisfactory. They deal with most of the cases themselves, but for the hearing of appeals from lower courts and certain important cases I join them in the court.

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The following different kinds of cases are tried by the Bahrain court; usually, about 1,400 cases are heard during the year.

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1. Criminal Cases, including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

2. Civil Cases, including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Sladi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

3. Diving Cases. These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

4. Land Cases. Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

5. Fish-Trap Cases. These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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The Bahrain Small Court. The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

Shera Court, Sunni. In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Khdia, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

Shera Court, Shia. There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

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The Government then appointed Seyed Adhnan of Jedhafs as Shia Kadi. He was a progressive young man of a well-known family, with more education than most of the Shia Alima. He was interested in education and had travelled abroad. Through his influence the Government was able to start the Shia Wakf Department, and he himself compiled a list of the Wakf property in Bahrain. Unfortunately he died suddenly in 1928.

For some months no successor was appointed, but finally the Government chose Shaikh Ali bin Hassan al-Mousa and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohammed Saleh; the former was appointed Kadi for the villages and the latter as Kadi of Manamah. Shaikh Ali bin Hassan still retains his position and is one of the three Shia Kadis who are now officiating.

Shaikh Abdulla acted as Kadi until 1935, when he was dismissed from his post in disgrace, having been prosecuted on a charge of criminal misappropriation. While he occupied the post of Kadi he was helpful and intelligent, but he became a rich man during the period of his office by stealing the property of orphans and minors.

After the dismissal of Shaikh Abdulla, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan was transferred to Manamah and two more Kadis were appointed, Shaikh Ali bin Jaffar and Shaikh Baqer al-Asfur. This arrangement is not very satisfactory as the three Kadis are all on bad terms with each other and the local political parties among the Baharna continually stir up trouble and play off the Kadis against each other in order to further their personal interests.

It is not surprising that the prestige and influence of the Shia Kadis has declined to a remarkable extent during the last ten years. The Kadis in the past, whatever their faults, had a tremendous influence over the Shia community; now this influence only exists over a few of the country people. The decline of influence is due partly to the change in the mental outlook of the young men in Manamah, but the main cause is the dishonest and unsuitable behaviour of certain of the Kadis.

These conditions will continue until men can be appointed as Kadis who are properly educated and versed in Shera law and legal procedure. The present Kadis, both Shia and Sunni, possess less general education than the present generation of young Arabs, and even their knowledge of the Shera law is, in the case of some of them, very slight. The only way to improve the status and reputation of the Shera Courts is for the Government to arrange for the education abroad of some suitable young men who will eventually become Kadis. The Government is at present trying to arrange for the education of the son of Seyd Adnan with this end in view.

The Mejlis Tajara and Diving Court. The Mejlis Tajara is probably the oldest judicial institution in Bahrain, excepting the Shera Courts. Originally it was known as the Mejlis al Urfi, and consisted of two or three local merchants who dealt with commercial cases. At that time it was not connected with the Salafieh al Ghoos, or Diving Court, which was a notorious institution consisting of one or two old pearl merchants whose judgments were invariably in favour of the merchants and Nakhudas and against the divers. This diving court was abolished at the time of the reforms, and for some years it ceased to exist. About ten years ago the Mejlis al Urfi was put on a different footing, and a shaikh of the Ruling Family was appointed as President of the Mejlis. Previously there had been no president. A year or two later further changes were made; the number of members was increased from eleven to twenty-two, divided into two committees, of which one committee sits once every fortnight. At the request of members, the Mejlis became known as the Mejlis Tajara, and on each of the two councils two or three members were appointed who belonged to the diving industry and were capable of dealing with diving cases. Thus the old diving court was amalgamated into the Mejlis Tajara. Another innovation at this time was the introduction of foreign members on the committee which had previously consisted exclusively of Bahrain subjects. Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed al Khalifah was for many years President of the court until about a year ago, when he was appointed to the Bahrain Court and his place was taken by Shaikh Mohammed, the eldest son of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. The court is governed by regular rules, the President has the casting vote in cases of a divided opinion, and occasionally in important cases all the twenty-two members appear together. The increase in the members was made to ensure more regular attendance. The members, all of

them local merchants and many of them members of the two municipal councils, found it impossible to give up a whole morning every week to this voluntary work, but now that they only sit once every fortnight their attendance is more regular. 671 692

The Mejlis Tajara deals with cases both from Bahrain courts and from the Agency courts. It relieves the other courts of much work and is frequently successful in effecting compromises between parties, which saves time and trouble. In its present form the Mejlis Tajara is a satisfactory institution. 693

Small Mixed Court. This court was started in 1928 and deals with civil cases up to Rs 400/-. The Bahrain magistrate, a junior member of the Ruling Family, sits with a representative of the Political Agent, usually the Indian Assistant. This court has been a useful training ground for some of the younger sheikhs who, after working in it for some years, have been promoted to more responsible positions.

Laws and Codes. At present, except in the Shara courts, which decide cases according to Islamic law, none of the Bahrain courts follow any regular law or code. In important criminal cases the Bahrain Court is guided by the Sudan Penal Code, which is almost identical to the Indian Penal Code, but in minor criminal cases it gives sentences which it considers suitable and compatible with local opinions and conditions. Frequently these punishments differ very greatly to those which would be inflicted on foreigners found guilty of exactly the same offences who are tried and sentenced according to the Indian Penal Code. As an example of this, it is the practice of the Bahrain Court to sentence any person who contravenes the Bahrain liquor regulation, for instance, by being in possession of liquor, to undergo eight months' hard labour in the case of a first offence. 671

Civil cases are judged according to local custom and practice and, in cases which are applicable, especially in land disputes and diving cases, according to the various Government proclamations which are issued from time to time. Unfortunately, these proclamations have never been codified and not all the public are conversant with them.

Until about two years ago the practice of the courts of dealing with cases without a regular code was not objected to by the public, but during the agitation raised by a small faction of the Manamah Shias in 1935 a demand was made for a code of laws to be adopted by the Bahrain courts. A committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamad and two Arabs and two Baharna, assisted by the clerk of the courts. It was intended that they should first codify all the existing proclamations, but it soon became apparent that the proclamations themselves, with the exception of the Diving Laws and a few other detailed regulations such as land registration rules, etc., were inadequate even to form a basis of a simple code for the courts. The committee have been meeting once a week for over a year and they have accomplished much valuable work, but it will probably take them another year to complete their task. The code which they are drafting refers only to civil matters such as rules regarding fishing rights, court rules, etc., etc., and it is not proposed that they should compose a criminal code. If a criminal code is necessary, and in my opinion it is not, it would save time and trouble if the Sudan Penal Code was altered to suit local conditions and then adopted. It has the advantage of being available in Arabic.

Police Regulations. The Bahrain police are not subject to or instructed in any regular form of regulations. As 90% of them are illiterate, it would be difficult to make them conversant with such regulations as the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, but the police deal with an ever-increasing number of cases in which foreigners, including Europeans, Americans, and Indians, are involved. Only one of the N.C.O.'s has any knowledge of Indian rules and regulations affecting police cases and prosecutions, and as the courts in which foreigners are normally charged with criminal offences are governed by the Indian regulations, the position of the police is liable to become increasingly difficult. The Bahrain courts do not allow any foreigners to appear before the courts as pleaders or Wakils, but if in the future any professional Indian pleaders should appear in cases connected with the Bahrain police, he would probably be able to pick holes in the method of presenting cases. 671 693 695

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671
656

Judicial Legislation.

From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

Diving Regulations. Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

Wakils. A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

Mortgages. An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

Appeals. A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

Statute of Limitation. The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

Liability of Government Servants. Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

PUBLIC WORKS

G53

The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc., etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Saheb Mohamed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jufair, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

G53
491

Roads.

Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jidhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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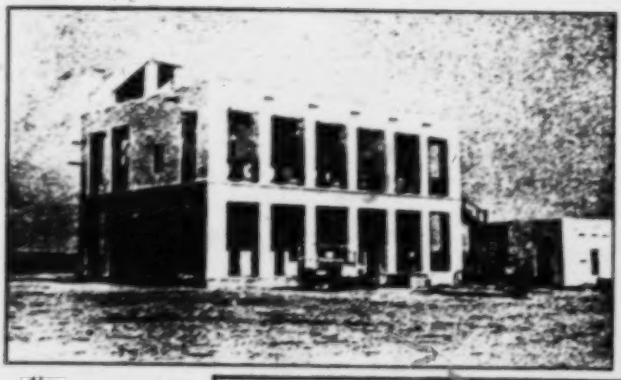
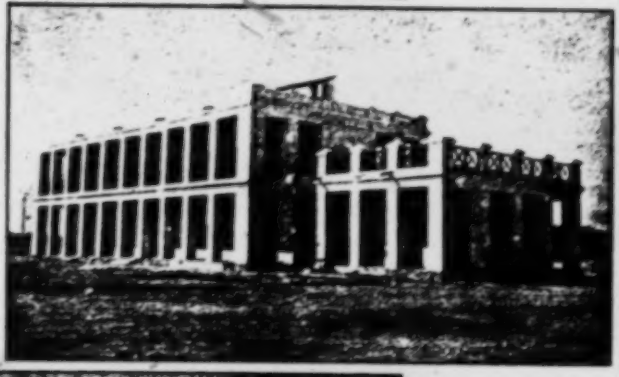


BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED BY BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT AT NAVAL BASE, JUFAIR

Above
Clerk in Charge's House



Right
Canteen

Left
Officer's Building

[facing p. 22 A]

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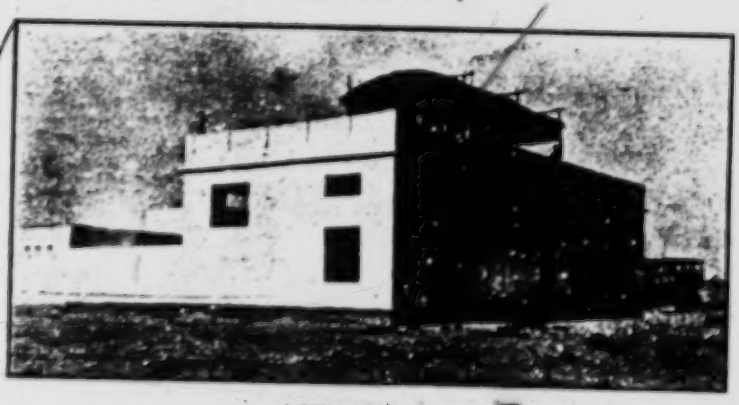
346

Souq Al Khamis Mosque

344



A Village Dispensary

[facing p. 228].

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653 491

In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking up existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portuguese Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible except from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manamah, which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. The main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it is bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and laden donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country people themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be made so that they need not use the motor road.

653 491 346

Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was in a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government, which at the same time straightened out the main road which previously made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed by the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing the mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von-Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque of the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are of particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

653 312

Idari Water Channel and Mosque.

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

653 346

Manamah School and Workshop.

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school, on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

653

Barracks, Police Station.

In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-

653 In 1353 (1934-35) a police station was built at Hedd, with a small office, men's quarters, and a lock-up enclosed by a wall, and during the same year a similar police building was built at Budeya.

New Customs House. During 1937 several important works were carried out. A new customs house, with a flat above the offices, was built on the shore, immediately east of the pier. The building and the reclaiming of a large area of ground which was required to extend the customs wharves cost Rs 66,000/-.

The new offices are light, airy, and convenient, and the building has done much to improve the appearance of the water front.

In the customs square a round garden with a fountain in the centre has been made, where it is hoped eventually to grow evergreen shrubs, grass, and flowering bushes. The circular garden in the centre of the square was made partly as a means of ensuring the one-way traffic rule, which is necessary owing to the large amount of motor traffic in this neighbourhood, and partly for the purpose of improving the appearance of the square.

Shops. Three shops, which have been rented on a long lease as motor showrooms and office, were built behind the old customs house on the site of some tumble-down sheds on the west side of Barrett Street. The Import Yard shed, part of the customs premises, occupies most of one side of this street. This shed, since the construction of the pier shed about twelve years ago, is never filled to its capacity, and space along the road to contain a line of shops could be spared from the shed. As this is now the chief shopping centre in Bahrain, shops in the street are a profitable proposition.

Palace Wall. During 1936 a wall, stone base and pillars, with wooden railings, was built in front of the Palace, which has greatly improved its appearance as well as making it possible to keep out crowds from in front of the Palace on public occasions.

Law Courts. At the time of writing this report, the new Law Courts are in the course of construction. The building is on a piece of ground which has been reclaimed and which was until recently water, inside the Manamah sea road, between the properties of Kanaibi & Co. and Gray Mackenzie. The offices and courts are round three sides of an open courtyard, and when the building is completed all the different courts, with their records, will be housed in one place instead of being scattered in various parts of the town in Government buildings and in hired rooms. Each courtroom has a record room and office opening out of it.

653 347 **Bazaar Buildings.** In the winter of 1936 a serious fire occurred near the Manamah Municipal Buildings which entirely destroyed the 'Suk al Arbaa,' an extensive bazaar, including the vegetable market and a number of shops belonging to H.H. Shaikh Hamad. Although much damage was done, the fire was a blessing in disguise, as His Highness decided to abolish the dangerous and insanitary type of buildings and to build new markets and shops. This work was undertaken, at His Highness's expense, by the Bahrain Government. Stone shops were built, and three large iron sheds were erected which are to be used for selling fruits, vegetables, and lucerne. The new bazaar is sanitary and up-to-date, and a water supply has been laid down which makes it possible to sluice the floors of the sheds every day and to wash out the shops. A pipe has also been laid on to the meat market so that it, too, can be washed out daily. In addition to His Highness's shops and sheds, two of His Highness's sons, who owned land in the bazaar, have built lines of new shops in place of the matting sheds which were there previously.

Through the kindness of the Manager of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one of the Company's English staff has been allowed to superintend the erection of the steel sheds, and worked on the job for some months. This new bazaar is one of the most noticeable improvements in Manamah which has occurred during recent years.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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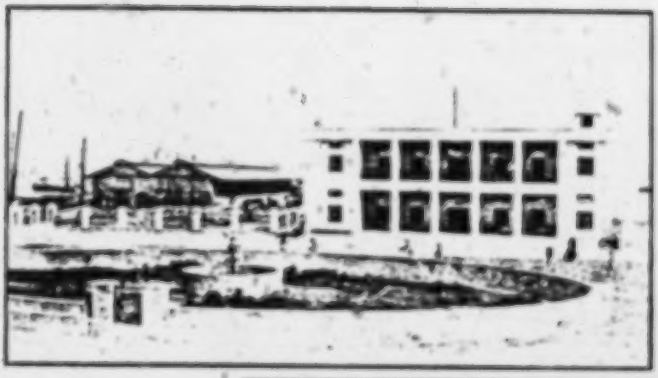


New Customs House and Round-about

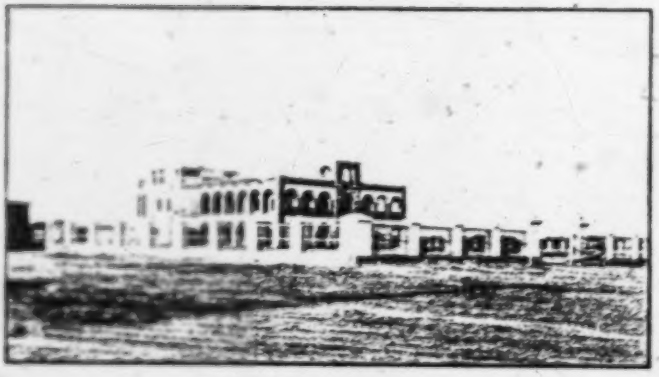
Government Shops

Women's Dispensary

Facing p 24 A

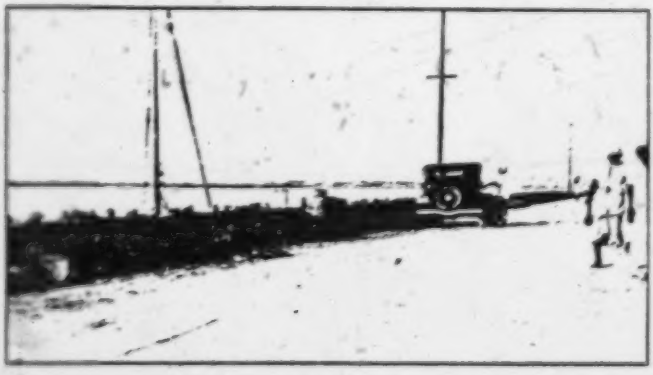
5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

344



The Palace
Manamah

491



Manamah
Muharraq
Sea Road

The Road
(From the Sea)

[facing p. 24B]

658 In addition to these major works, a number of smaller buildings have been made, such as garages, dispensaries, extensions to existing buildings, quarantine station, small country schools, bridges, and water channels.

[339] In all buildings, local material is almost entirely employed. All buildings are made of coral stone, which is cut from the bed of the sea and brought to the shore in boats. Gutch plaster is obtained locally, and also lime, and the wood, although imported, is purchased from local merchants. Steel beams are bought in Europe, and latterly metal fittings have been imported direct from England.

Jufair Naval Base. At the request of the naval authorities the Bahrain Government undertook the construction of the Naval base at Jufair. The work lasted from May 1935 till May 1936. The most important buildings were a pier on the southern side of the point, 600 yards long and 10 feet wide, a canteen building with two billiard rooms, an officers' building, clerk-in-charge's house, store, Indian staff quarters, etc., etc. The Bahrain Government, in addition to the building, installed a complete water supply and drainage system; this part of the work was done by the State Engineer. All the houses were built in the usual style, of stone and cement, but tiles, imported from Busra, were used for flooring.

The cost of the most important buildings was approximately as follows:

Pier	Rs 12,800/-
Canteen	23,200/-
Clerk-in-Charge's house	11,400/-
Officers' building	18,800/-

The above figures do not include the cost of electric and water supply installation.

653 491 **Manamah-Muharraq Road.** For many years it had been the wish of His Highness Shaikh Hamad to build a road across the sea, connecting the towns of Manamah and Muharraq, which are separated by a mile and 1,166 yards of sea, much of which is dry at low tide. In the past, connection between the two islands was only possible by boats, and on some occasions, during very low tides or in abnormally rough weather, it was almost impossible to cross the gap. Muharraq town is almost as large as Manamah, and the island contains a number of villages as well as the town of Hedd, which is the third largest town in Bahrain. When Muharraq was used as an aerodrome, the need for easier communication between the two islands became more necessary. When the project of building a road across the sea with some sort of bridge over the deep channel was first discussed, many people considered and said that it was an impossible proposition.

In 1348 the causeway was begun. It was estimated that the cost of completing it, not including the bridge, would be Rs 6,00,000/-. It was built of coral stone, with outside walls of murubaa stone and a centre filling of fishti stone surfaced with mud, and provided with culverts at every 100 yards. The width of the road is 32 feet, and the maximum height from the sea bed at the deepest place is 13 feet.

The causeway, without the bridge, was completed and opened for motor traffic at the end of 1936. Work on the road has not been carried out continuously, but during the seven years of its construction when money has been available the work has been continued, and only at times other than the diving season, when much unemployment existed. The total cost of the road from Manamah to the edge of the deep channel and from Muharraq to the channel is Rs 1,99,800/-. Of this amount, Rs 4,000/- was subscribed by a merchant of Muharraq as a contribution from 'thilth.'

It is now possible to reach Muharraq in less than ten minutes, at all times of the day or night and in all weather conditions. There are motor bus services to and from the end of the causeway, and when arrangements have been made for crossing the channel, which are now under consideration, there will be a bus service to Muharraq, Hedd, and other villages on Muharraq island. Already the road has caused an improvement in property values in Muharraq, and people working in

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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491

Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owing to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the channel and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, who cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everything in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produced locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expended has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulated local trade.

LAND REGISTRATION

647
423

Survey. This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the first six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages and cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed before the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which put an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, who were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the work was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with their boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water rights, and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, water rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlords know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information about boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examined and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completing the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the public to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a large scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these towns did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric scheme was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

Reports on Land Cases. In addition to general survey work, every year the department provides plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During some years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these reports are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in the Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

Registration of Sales and Titles. The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but every year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for the registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the value of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issued nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set aside a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many years would have been seriously affected.

Mortgages. The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, and in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosure of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had been previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgage property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgage

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need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people. 647 423

Government Title Deeds. Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady ncrease in applications for registration of ownership.

Fish-Traps. In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps. 226

Land Leases and Government Forms. In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public. 427 475

The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

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EDUCATION

871

Formation of an Education Committee. The progress of education during the last ten years has not been altogether smooth, but the origin of some of the troubles which have occurred dates back to the time when schools were first started in Bahrain. In 1919, Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa returned from his first visit to England filled with enthusiasm for education. Bahrain was in a prosperous condition, as the pearl market was flourishing, and when the public were asked to subscribe to a fund for starting schools they responded generously, and over three lacs were collected. An education committee was formed under the presidency of Shaikh Abdullah, whose members were local merchants chosen rather on account of their wealth than their learning, many of them being entirely illiterate. Haji Yusuf Fakroo, a Persian merchant of Muharraq, was appointed as treasurer, and very soon acquired almost complete control of finance and administration.

Muharraq School Built. The committee decided to build a large school beyond the northern edge of Muharraq town; it was unfortunate that a site in a more central position was not chosen for the school. The cost of building the school was said to have been about two lacs, but this sum included the cost of a quantity of material which was ordered by the treasurer from India and which did not arrive in Bahrain. To-day the school could be built for less than a quarter of this sum and, even taking into consideration the decrease in the price of building, the amount which was alleged to have been spent upon building the school was incredibly large. For many years much publicity was given in Syrian and Egyptian newspapers, which have always taken an impertinent interest in Bahrain educational affairs, to what was described as a case of gross mismanagement of public money. The school was opened with a teaching staff which included several highly paid Egyptian and Syrian masters. Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, who is now the representative of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud at the Court of St. James, was for some time the headmaster of the Muharraq school. A second school was opened in Manamah in a house in the centre of the town, which is now the Manamah girls' school.

[875]

Education. For some years after the beginning of the period which is dealt with in this report the two schools were nominally under the management of the committee, but in fact they were run by the treasurer and the Syrian headmaster of the Muharraq school. Educational results were disappointing: boys who were two years at school were unable to read and write, and most of the boys who left the school after learning for several years were incapable of filling the simplest posts in the Government offices. Though attention was given to teaching the sons of important people, most of the boys received a very scrappy education. The examinations, which were held in public at the end of each term, were entirely unreliable tests of education. The boys' fathers attended these examinations, and when the boys gave wrong answers the parents usually applauded, and it was considered inadvisable to correct the boys in front of their fathers, who were equally ignorant.

The members of the committee took little interest in anything except the financial advancement of their relations and friends, who were appointed as teachers. One of the headmasters of Muharraq introduced a number of his own relations, and the pay of the teachers depended not upon their ability but upon their friendship with the headmaster and the committee. In general, nepotism flourished to an extraordinary degree.

At that time it was impolitic to question the administration of the schools. The amount paid by the Government on account of education during 1344 (1925-1926) was Rs 48,000/-; in the following year only Rs 20,000/- was spent, but in 1346 (1927-28) the annual grant towards education was raised to Rs 46,000/-. It was during this year that the Honorable the Political Resident, then Colonel Haworth, pointed out to the Bahrain Government that, in comparison to the revenue, the annual expenditure on education was very small. 'Education,' he wrote, 'is the dominant factor in Bahrain.' A small school was opened in Rafaa and another school in Hedd.

Jafarieh School. In 1347 (1928-29) the expenditure on education was increased to Rs 57,000/-, but in addition to the Rs 32,000/- which was paid to the treasurer of the education committee, this sum included the cost of building the first four classrooms of the new school in Manamah which was intended for Shias. Out of the Rs 13,000/-

which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 5,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Hasa, and after being in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

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Opening of a Girls' School. In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohamed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hedjazi pearl merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

Appointment of a School Inspector. The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unproductive school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsuitable authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Fuad Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrout University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamich College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

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Strike of Students and Masters. The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the towns in processions in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdullah immediately took strong action: he sent for the two headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

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Most of the parents of the boys disapproved of their children's behaviour, but they said that they could not prevent them from doing what they wished. Parental control in Bahrain is almost non-existent, and boys of twelve years of age and older usually act independently of their parents' wishes. Fathers frequently complain that they would like their sons to go to school, but as their boys do not wish to do so they cannot make them attend school.

Reforms in the Schools.

In 1349 (1930-1931), Rs 61,000 - was spent on education, which included the cost of completing the new Manamah school. The school was a large, handsome building capable of accommodating about five hundred boys, with a central hall, the largest room in Bahrain, which will seat over six hundred people. At the beginning of the year some trouble was caused by the Shia school committee and the members of the old education committee. An attempt was made to combine the Sunnis and Shias on one committee, but although the Sunnis agreed, the Shias refused to sit on a mixed committee. The presence of the Government's inspector was still much resented by some of the masters and by people who previously had undue influence in school affairs and finances. The curriculum of the schools was entirely re-organised and a simpler range of subjects was taught in all schools: subjects such as physics, music, and advanced mathematics, which were previously part of the programme and which were badly taught by unqualified teachers, were omitted. English lessons were given only in the higher forms. Several new masters were recruited from Syria, and three young Bahrain men who had been educated at Government expense in Beyrout were taken on as masters. The pay and the contracts of all masters were placed on a proper footing, and their salaries were made to depend upon their abilities. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa became Minister of Education and was responsible for all matters concerning schools and education; the committees continued to exist, but instead of being an assistance they continually hampered the progress of education. By the end of the year there were over 500 boys and 100 girls attending the Government schools and, owing to the proper supervision of accounts, the monthly cost of running the schools was Rs 3,600/- instead of Rs 5,600/-.

Disappearance of School Committees.

During the following year, 1350 (1931-32), the expenditure on education was Rs 45,000/-. Owing to the internal disputes among the members of the Shia school committee the attendance at the Jafferieh school dwindled to about fifty boys. Many of the Shias removed their boys from school because they objected to a Sunni school inspector. During the year the Sunni committee gave up any pretence of taking an interest in the school because they were no longer able to appoint the masters and to decide their salaries, so eventually this committee was allowed to disappear and, after a general quarrel among its members, the Shia committee was dissolved. The control of the schools remained in the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, assisted by the inspector of education and, when necessary, myself.

Amalgamation of Manamah Boys' Schools.

The year 1351 (1932-33) was a lean year financially. The salaries of all Government servants, including the staff of the education department, were subjected to a cut, and economies were made in every possible direction. The expenditure on education was reduced to Rs 34,000/-, but in spite of this the number of students increased, and from an educational point of view the year was satisfactory. The most important change was the amalgamation of the Sunni and Jafferieh schools. The Jafferieh school became the Manamah boys' school and the old Sunni school was taken over as a girls' school. The change was resented by most of the Shias, who adopted a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Although they refused to send their boys to the Jafferieh school, they objected to its being used by Sunnis. At the same time another school was opened by a young man, Ibrahim al Arrayedh, who had been dismissed from the department of education after the disturbances in the previous year. This school was financed by some of the wealthier Shia families in Manamah, and for a year or two it served a useful purpose.

During the next two years progress was satisfactory and undisturbed. In 1352 (1933-34), expenditure was reduced to Rs 22,000/- by means of combining classes under one teacher and various other methods of economy, but at the same time attendance at the schools increased from 828 to 966. During the following year there was a further increase in students, and a number of

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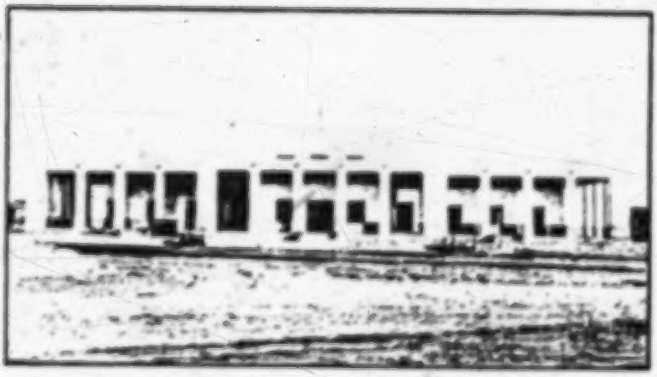
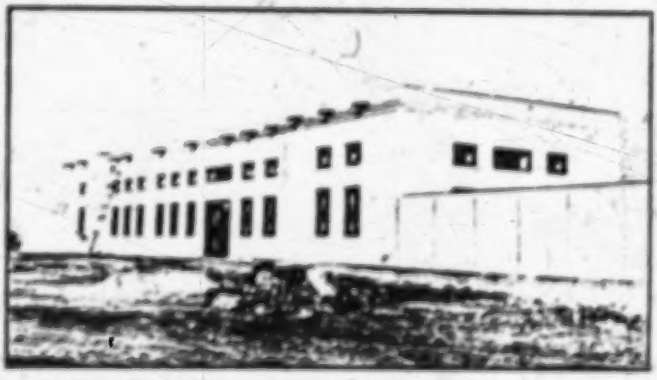
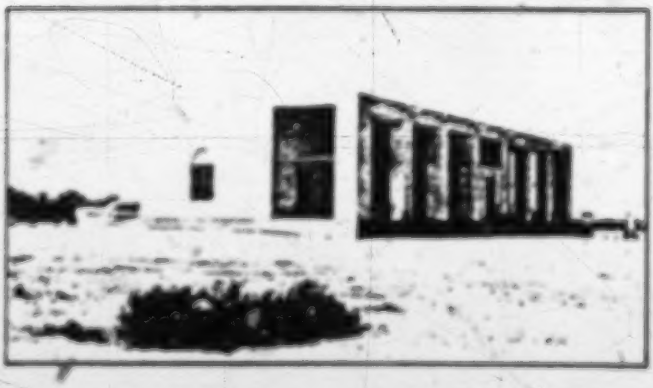


Manama Boys' School



School Workshops



A Village School

[facing p. 30]

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871 Shia boys returned to the Manamah school. Towards the end of 1354 (1935-36) a new school was opened in Sitrah, which was attended by about 30 boys, and it is proposed that several more schools are to be opened in other districts in the Shia villages.

874 **Technical Education.** In 1936, classes were started in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools for teaching carpentry and simple mechanics. Two skilled carpenters and a mechanic were obtained from Syria through the Beyrout University. About a dozen boys are now learning carpentry and another class is being taught by the mechanic. They are now working in classrooms in the schools, but this arrangement is inconvenient as the noise disturbs the other classes and the space is small. A simple building is to be put up close to the school, to be fitted out as a carpentry and engineering shop.

463 In Bahrain, all carpenters, masons, and most of the mechanics are foreigners. There is great demand for good work, and masons, etc., earn very high pay. There are undoubtedly great opportunities for trained men in these professions, but the chief difficulty in teaching practical trades of this kind is that many of the boys and their parents regard such work as derogatory. They would prefer to work as clerks on lower pay than as carpenters, masons, or mechanics.

871 Education in Bahrain is not compulsory; all Government schools are free, but students are made to pay for their books and materials. It has been suggested that fees for attending school should be charged, but if this were done the attendance would be restricted to the sons and daughters of people of means, who are mostly foreigners. It has also been suggested that free education should be provided for Bahrain subjects only and that foreigners should pay, but when this question was examined it was found that almost all the children of foreign parentage attending the Government schools were legally Bahrain subjects, having been born in Bahrain and not registered as protected persons.

There is a difference in the subjects taught in the various schools. In the country schools the boys are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and the Quran. Girls learn reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, embroidery, hygiene, and Quran. They have made remarkably good progress in sewing and embroidery and now produce work which would find a ready sale. More advanced subjects are taught in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools, where the programme includes English, history, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and the system of diving accounts. Leaving certificates are issued by the Department of Education to boys who pass an examination when they leave the schools from the two top forms. No boy is taken into Government service unless he possesses one of these certificates, but unfortunately their value has decreased since the Bahrain Petroleum Company has taken to employing boys who do not hold certificates. During the last two years, about sixty boys from the top classes in the Manamah and Muharraq schools left school and obtained employment as clerks and gaugers with the oil company; others have been taken into Government service as pupil teachers, apprentices in the Customs Department, and in other Government offices.

Games are encouraged at all schools, and the older boys play football. There is also a company of Boy Scouts in Manamah and Muharraq. At the end of each term a play is produced and acted by the older boys. The play is usually very topical. These entertainments are extremely popular with the public and are well produced and excellently acted.

The chief difficulties which beset the path of education are the complete lack of discipline among the boys in their own homes, the religious differences between the two sects, Shias and Sunnis, and the suspicious attitude of local people towards foreign teachers, who are essential until the people of Bahrain have attained a sufficient degree of education to fit them to be teachers. The question of punishments is another problem, none of the punishments, except corporal punishment, which are used in civilized countries have any effect in Bahrain. If boys are ordered not to come to school because they misbehave, they do not care, nor do they mind being kept back after school hours, and most of them are quite indifferent to losing marks.

Bahrain Boys at Beyrout University. In 1929, seven boys from the Government schools were sent to the Beyrout University to be educated there at Government expense. Three of them were members of the Ruling Family, the others were sons of merchants who were chosen by the headmaster of the Muharraq school. All of them were fourth,

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which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

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Education of the Ruling Family. In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

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Future Development of Education. There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Moharreq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

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Original Installation. The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose, it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical engineer in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

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A number of well-known firms were invited to tender, but all seemed to consider Bahrain too far off the beaten track, except Callender's Cable and Construction Company who, on their own initiative, sent a representative to Bahrain to examine the prospect. In the summer of 1928, I and Mr. Stevenson discussed the scheme with several electrical engineering companies in London, but none of them were interested. Finally, Callenders' submitted a complete tender, which was accepted by the Government in the spring of 1929; the tender was for £20,607/- and included the power-house, plant, and the installation in Manamah town. In September, 1929, Mr. Jordan, Callenders' resident engineer, arrived, and the power-house was opened and the supply commenced on 11th May.

Unfortunately, during the time between the decision to install electricity and the completion of the work, the prosperity of Bahrain declined. An abnormally bad year on the pearl market resulted in general trade depression and a falling off in revenue. Only 1,200 lights and 200 fans were ordered or installed, and this included street lighting and lights and fans in Government and Municipal buildings.

Muharraq Extension. The following year it was decided to extend the electric power to Muharraq. The people of Muharraq protested, with some justification, that they should be allowed to share in the benefit of the scheme which had been paid for out of public funds, to which Muharraq, almost as large a town as Manamah, had contributed a large proportion. Callenders' submitted a tender which was accepted by the Government after obtaining the advice of the Chief Engineer, Iraq. The final amount was for Rs 53,000/-. The extension consisted of a high tension tubular pole line (3,300 volts) along the route of the causeway which was being built between Manamah and Muharraq, with a submarine cable across the deep water channel.

Share of Municipalities. The Manamah Municipality had paid 20% of the original capital expenditure, and when Muharraq was added to the scheme the Muharraq Municipality contributed a similar share: 20% of the original expenditure and also 20% of the Muharraq extension, to which Manamah also contributed its share of 20%. The cost of the completed scheme was divided between the Government and the two Municipalities, the Government having 60%, interest and the two Municipalities each 20%.

Progress. At the end of 1349 (May 1931) the total number of houses wired was 222; 1,497 lamps and 268 fans had been installed. There was a total loss during the year of Rs 27,000/-, but out of this sum Rs 22,000/- represented depreciation, which had perhaps been assessed at an unnecessarily high rate. During the following year there was a slight increase in consumers, but the result of the Muharraq extension was disappointing; 280 points were connected during the year. Electric power was used when an ice plant, which had been acquired by the Manamah Municipality, was installed in the power-house; a reduced rate was charged for power used in the plant as it was regarded as a public utility concern.

State Engineer. In October 1931, Mr. W. B. Steele, of Callenders' Cable and Construction Company, who had worked for some months in Bahrain as the Company's [illegible] in Bahrain in the Company's executive engineer, was appointed as State Engineer to the Bahrain Government. From that date Callenders' ceased to work the electric supply in Bahrain, and the Government also took over all wiring and installation work which has produced a small profit, although the price was kept low in order to encourage consumers. The loss in 1350 (1931-32) was Rs 32,000/-, of which Rs 27,000/- was depreciation. The expenditure during the year included several non-recurrent items such as passages for Callenders' engineer, rent of house, etc. The actual loss on running was about Rs 3,000/-.

Progress. In 1351 (1932-33), though the revenue increased by approximately Rs 5,000/-, there was a loss on running of Rs 5,800/-, not including depreciation which amounted to Rs 20,000/-. A small showroom was opened at the office of the Electric Department for the sale of electrical apparatus. Although the number of lights increased

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considerably, there was not a corresponding increase in revenue owing to the use of cheap low-power Japanese lamps which were bought by the public in place of the more powerful lights which had originally been installed.

In 1352 (1933-34) there was a further increase in revenue: 415 more points were connected and power was used for refrigerators, water-pumps, etc. The Electric Department acquired the sole agency for International General Electric Company's refrigerators which, after experiments with other makes, were found to be the most satisfactory. The increase continued through 1353 (1934-35); revenue from sale of energy amounted to Rs 6,000/- more than during the previous year, but, unfortunately, owing to an experiment which was made by a temporary engineer, there was a loss of over Rs 5,000/- on wiring. A reduction in the price per point resulted in wiring being carried out by the department at an actual loss, and the amount involved was considerable, as the department had undertaken a large amount of wiring work for the Bahrain Petroleum Company in addition to the normal work in Manamah and Muharraq. A large quantity of material was ordered at the same time in expectation of wiring orders which did not materialise.

First Profitable Year.

In 1354 (1935-36) the Electric Department made a profit of Rs 4,800/- after covering all charges including depreciation. Sixty new premises were wired, 302 lighting points and 33 fans were installed, and the load increased by 27 kilowatts. The department carried out all the wiring work for the naval base at Jufair and also put in a land telegraph line from the wireless office to the terminus of the subterranean cable on the coast west of Manamah.

In 1355 (1936-37), the seventh year of the undertaking, the net profit was Rs 16,737/-, the load increased by 58 kilowatts, and 91 new premises were wired. A new one-ton ice plant was installed, the existing supply being found insufficient for local requirements, and indications appeared that the public were beginning to use electric power commercially, for example, in carpentry, etc. A three-phase line and underground cable was run from Naim to the new direction-finding station installed by Cable & Wireless Limited, and underground mains replaced the overhead lines in the customs square. During the winter months the generating sets were run continuously, for the first time, in order to encourage the use of power appliances.

Future Prospects.

It can be reasonably assumed that during the next two or three years the load will increase. There are still a large number of houses which are not provided with electric light, and all new houses, especially those which are built for letting, are nowadays fitted with electric light. During the last year the two engines have frequently been running at the same time in order to cope with peak loads. This is undesirable and dangerous. It is now proposed to instal a third engine consisting of one 300 BHP Mirrlees set which will obviate any possibility of a breakdown and which will provide for future expansion.

A reduction in the rate charged for heating appliances was made during 1355 (1936-37), but it has not yet been possible to reduce the cost of the unit for lighting or cost of power for other purposes. It may be possible to effect a reduction during the year 1357 (1938-39).

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Telephone System.

In 1351 (1932-33) a public telephone was opened in Manamah, and by the end of the first year twelve lines had been connected and two were in course of erection. The telephone exchange was installed in a room above the Police Station, which was both a safe and central position. Two young men from the schools were trained by the State Engineer as operators. The yearly rent for a telephone, with an unlimited number of calls, was Rs 150/-, which was reduced after two years to Rs 125/-, as it was found possible to reduce the rent and still allow a small profit from the undertaking.

In 1353 (1934-35) an extension of the telephone system was run from the exchange to the aerodrome in Muharraq in conjunction with the Imperial Airways Company, which paid for this additional line. In 1354 (1935-36) the exchange was connected to the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited telephone system by a trunk line, and another line was erected to the naval base at Jufair. In 1355 (1936-37) a new exchange of 25 lines was installed in Manamah, and a day and night service was instituted. At the end of 1355 (1936-37) it was decided to connect the

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

Year.	Units Generated.	Units Sold.	Revenue Rs	Connected Load in Kw.
1349 (1930-31) ...	88,080 ...	47,340 ...	20,750/- ...	102
1350 (1931-32) ...	111,367 ...	65,813 ...	22,486/- ...	46
1351 (1932-33) ...	120,629 ...	79,550 ...	27,463/- ...	23
1352 (1933-34) ...	134,744 ...	83,241 ...	30,987/- ...	9
1353 (1934-35) ...	147,050 ...	100,449 ...	36,797/- ...	16
1354 (1935-36) ...	163,751 ...	116,440 ...	43,828/- ...	27
1355 (1936-37) ...	232,320 ...	151,255 ...	60,108/- ...	58

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

Land Tenure. Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, giving to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hibu' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehar,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hibu' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 473 423

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have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

Date Cultivation. Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hasa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 40%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hasa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

Lucerne. Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hasa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

Cereals. At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafaa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafaa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gumaihi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hasa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

Cotton. In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainl[illegible] was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

cotton under the supervision of the agricultural expert. It was sown in three or four different gardens and on a three-acre patch of new land close to the town, which was lent for the purpose by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi. In two of the gardens, though 95% of the seeds germinated, all the plants died before reaching full growth. In the three-acre plot, which was sown in April, the experiment was successful. The seed germinated well and produced a crop of good quantity and quality, which was well reported on by the Cotton-Growing Association in Baghdad. Unfortunately, the price of cotton at that time was so low as to discourage any private individuals from spending money on cultivating it again. The success of the crop proved, however, that it is possible to grow cotton in Bahrain. 248

Tobacco. During the last two years tobacco has been grown as a commercial proposition by Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa AlKhalifah and by Mr. Hussein Yateem. Locally grown tobacco was sold in the bazaar, and it is understood that a slight profit was made. 249

Fruit Trees. A variety of fruit trees grow in Bahrain, but most of the fruit is of poor quality, as the trees are neglected and never pruned. The only fruit which is grown in any quantity is the citrus and the lote, the other fruit trees are negligible in number and are only found in a few gardens. 245

Fruit trees grown in Bahrain:

Citrus	Peach	Pomegranate
Lime	Fig	Guava
Orange	Grape	Custard apple
Mango	Apricot	Lote
Pawpaw	Loquat	Mulberry

The Government planted about 250 orange trees some years ago, the trees bore fruit of very large size and good quality, but in five years a great number of the trees died. Those that remain produce good crops of oranges every year. Each year during the rainy season a number of trees died, apparently, because the salty earth was splashed up over the lower branches by the rain. In Bahrain, trees frequently die in this way after heavy rain.

Vegetables. Ten years ago, no European vegetables were grown in Bahrain; to-day, a number of the Arabs are growing vegetables in their gardens and selling them, very profitably, in the bazaar. Owing to the increase in the European and Indian population, there is a great demand for fresh vegetables. The following species can be grown easily and successfully in Bahrain: 244

Cabbage	Radishes	Onions
Cauliflower	Spinach	Swedes
Carrots	Lettuces	Celery
Turnips	Beetroot	Potatoes
Artichokes	Sugar beet	Tomatoes

There is a steadily increasing demand in Bahrain for agricultural produce, there is land which could be irrigated and which would produce crops, and the results of the few experiments which have been made show that it is possible to grow a number of trees, crops, and vegetables which have never been cultivated on a large scale. All wood for fuel and for building is imported into Bahrain, with the exception of palm trunks, which are of small use. It has now been proved that a number of fast-growing trees will flourish in Bahrain, and their timber provides good fuel.

During the present year several thousand men, who are now working as coolies on the Refinery construction of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, will be discharged and will find themselves unemployed. Owing to the state of the pearling industry, they will not be taken on as divers, and their employment will present a problem to the Government. They now think that they will obtain employment with the Hasa oil company, but this is unlikely. Both land and labour are available, and the Government can now afford to continue the work, which had to be dropped some years ago owing to lack of funds, of increasing and exploiting the agricultural possibilities of Bahrain.

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WAKF ADMINISTRATION

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Nature of Wakfs.

Much valuable property in Bahrain is wakf property, dedicated in the past for public and religious purposes, such as the upkeep of mosques, the payment of muezzins and priests, and in the case of the Shias, towards religious observances during the month of Muharram and the expenses of the matams, which can be described as village halls supported by religious endowments. In addition to the charitable wakfs, which are intended to benefit the general public, there are private wakfs which are frequently in the nature of entails of property to the heirs of a certain person and, among the Shias, property and money is often left in trust to pay for prayers to be said over a long period of time on behalf of a deceased person. Another common form of religious endowment is the dedication by will of one-third of the estate for charity or for certain specific charities, but this now only refers to wakfs of a public nature.

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Shaikh Khalaf.

Until the year 1346 (July 1927—June 1928) all wakf property in Bahrain, both Sunni and Shia, was administered by the Qadis and by anybody who was sufficiently powerful to retain the administration of the property in his hands. It is not an exaggeration to state that most of the proceeds of the property found its way into the pockets of the administrators and was not distributed to the poor for whose benefit it was intended. In 1345 (1926-27), Shaikh Khalaf, who was then the Shia Qadi, was compelled to resign owing to agitation among the Baharna which was caused by his habit of taking bribes. Twice before during his long tenure of office he had been compelled to retire owing to irregular practices, but in spite of this he retained a great influence over many of the country villages. Shaikh Khalaf had been one of the leading personalities in Bahrain for many years, and it was partly owing to his support that the diving reforms were carried out in 1923. No Qadi since Shaikh Khalaf has had such influence over the Shia community as a whole.

Syed Adnan's Administration.

His successor was Syed Adnan, a young man who had been educated in Iraq and who had a well-deserved reputation for piety, learning, and honesty. In addition to this, he was more progressive in his ideas than any of the previous Qadis. On his appointment he made an effort to register the wakf property and to start a regular system of administration. With the support of the Government he compelled many of the people who held wakf property to lease it through him and to submit to him an account of revenue and expenditure. He died very suddenly about a year after his appointment, but during the time that he was Shia Qadi he accomplished much valuable work, and his books containing the descriptions and registrations of wakf properties were of great use to the wakf department when it was formed.

Appointment of a Council.

After the death of Syed Adnan, the wakf property was administered for some time by Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, the executor of the late Qadi, but this arrangement was distasteful to most of the Shia community who, quite rightly, placed no confidence in Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, who was afterwards convicted of misappropriating funds belonging to some minors and orphans. Two Qadis, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan of Sanabis and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohomed Salih of Manamah, were then appointed. The former, when he was appointed, stipulated that he should have nothing to do with the administration of the wakf property; the latter very soon demanded that the wakf property should be handed over to him. He was persuaded to appoint a committee of leading Shia notables to assist him in the administration of the property. After a short time the country people, who form the majority of the Shia community and who have the greatest interest in the wakfs, objected to this arrangement and made a petition on the subject to the Ruler, who had hitherto taken no interest in the question of the Shia wakf administration. The public asked that the administration of the property should be entirely in the hands of the people and not under the control of the Qadi of Manamah. A council was appointed, consisting of six men from the country and four from Manamah, and the wakf property was handed over to their charge. A local merchant was appointed as treasurer, but no president was chosen in order to placate the feelings of Shaikh Abdulla and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, both of whom were comparatively satisfied as long as the other was not in control.

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Previous attempts to organise Wakf Department. About four years before an attempt had been made by the Government to alienate the wakf property from the Qadis. Both Sunnis and Shias combined in such furious opposition to the proposal that it was soon dropped. The same result was obtained, with no disturbances, when it appeared that the idea had come from the public themselves. The expenses of the department, pay of the treasurer and the clerk, and accommodation were provided by the Government, as it was desirable and in the interests of a large portion of the community that wakf property should be properly dealt with.

Progress of Administration and Elections. By 1930 the wakf department had become an established institution, entirely unconnected with the Shia Qadis, who were only referred to by the council in question concerning shara law. The department opened an account at the bank, regular accounts were kept, wakf lands were leased by the department, and no payments were made except with the approval of the council. Each member was responsible for supervising and reporting on the wakf property in his district, and for this purpose Bahrain was roughly divided into sections, each section being represented by a member of the council. The Government issued a proclamation, ordering all persons to register wakf property within a certain time, failing which the administrator would be liable for prosecution. In response to this order, much wakf property was discovered which was previously unknown. In 1353 (1934-35) the revenue collected by the department was about Rs 24,000 .

In 1349 (1930-31), the third year of its existence, the revenue of the department decreased considerably owing to the general depression, particularly because its income was mainly derived from date gardens, and many of the tenants were unable to pay their rents in full. In spite of two or three bad years which followed, the department was able during this time to purchase more gardens and to improve the existing property by planting many thousands of new trees, repairing irrigation streams, and in some cases sinking artesian wells in order to cultivate new ground. At various times the department suffered somewhat owing to the intrigues of the religious leaders, who stirred up the tenants against the council, but the members were sufficiently influential and independent to withstand these difficulties.

A new election was held in 1350 (1931-32), and this time voting was by ballot and took place in a village in the centre of every district. Although this was a novel procedure, the people adopted it with enthusiasm, and in some villages there were keen contests to return certain members. The department began to register wakf property in the Land Department and became involved in much litigation with various Sunni landowners who claimed wakf property as part of their own gardens. In some cases, members of the Ruling Family objected to the registration of wakf property, claiming that it was included in gift documents held by them for whole districts. Cases regarding the Shia wakfs, which were referred occasionally to the Sunni shara courts, were not always dealt with impartially. The Sunni Qadis, who still retain control of the Sunni wakfs, resented the Shia wakf department and council, fearing that public opinion would compel them to hand over control of their wakfs to a similar committee. Many of the Ruling Family were also unsympathetic to the wakf department, thinking that the Shias might be encouraged to claim gardens which were originally wakf property but had been confiscated by the Khalifah many years ago.

In 1351 (1932-33) the accounts of the wakf department were audited by a chartered accountant, but as there were more than 1,800 separate accounts, one for each different endowment, it was impossible to check every account, but various suggestions were made to simplify the method of book-keeping. During this year there was some agitation against the department, organised by one of the Qadis, and numerous petitions of doubtful authenticity were made to the Government, asking that the council should be dismissed and that the Government should take over complete control of the wakf administration. This was not done. The department continued its work during the year, improving the gardens, repairing mosques and matams, and occasionally purchasing small gardens, but the accumulation of debts owing to the department increased, and a very large sum was outstanding at the end of the year.

During 1352 (1933-34) the work of the department was carried out without any disturbances and the revenue improved slightly. In 1353 (1934-35) there was some adverse criticism of the

421 department by the public, who complained, with justification, that wakf property dedicated to the Shia Qadi received more attention than other property.

429 In 1935 there was renewed opposition to certain members of the council, including Syed Ahmad bin Syed Alawi, the treasurer, which owed its origin to a bitter quarrel between two factions of the Shia community in Manamah, which came to a head when Shaikh Abdullah bin Mohomed Saleh was tried and convicted by a special court for misappropriating money which he was administering on behalf of an orphan. The members of the council took opposite sides, and the routine of the department was disturbed. It was therefore thought advisable to hold a new election. This was done early in 1936. The council was increased from 10 to 15 members and the offices of the department were moved from two rooms in the Manamah school, which they had previously occupied, to rooms in the Bahrain court-house. The new council includes several of the leading Shias, who are more businesslike and capable than their predecessors. One of their first decisions was to appoint a sub-committee for dealing with accounts and another committee for inspecting gardens and property on the lines of the municipal council's methods. After the last election the two Qadis again requested the Government to take over the administration of the wakfs, but this request was again refused.

Results. The formation of the Shia Wakf Department has been comparatively successful. It is the first time that the Baharna have had an opportunity of working together and managing their own affairs and, in spite of frequent intrigues and attacks from outside, the department has done much valuable work which is of benefit to the whole Shia community. The results have been more successful than I anticipated, and it is evident that this is appreciated by the general public, not only the Shias, for at the time of writing there is a movement afoot among the Sunni ulemas and some of the Sunni notables for setting up a similar council to administer the Sunni wakf property.

The work of the Shia Wakf Department is not an easy task, as the wakf property is made up of nearly two thousand isolated pieces of gardens, fish-traps, houses and shops, and in many cases only a proportion of the property is wakf and the remainder is owned by individuals. The normal income from the wakf property should be about Rs 40,000/- per annum, but during recent years it has been difficult to collect the rents, and at the beginning of 1936 the balance outstanding against the tenants amounted to about Rs 15,000/-.

Future Development. A possible development in the future would be the education at Government expense of two or three young men who could be sent to Iraq or elsewhere to study the work and methods of the wakf ministry. The members of the council, although most of them are illiterate, are fully capable of dealing with the practical work, such as supervising the cultivation and the upkeep of the gardens and buildings, but they lack the administrative experience and enterprise which is necessary for the management of a public department.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT

Year.	*Revenue.* Rs	*Expenditure.* Rs
1349 (1930-31) ...	18,700/- ...	17,900/-
1350 (1931-32) ...	17,700/- ...	18,300/-
1351 (1932-33) ...	21,000/- ...	20,200/-
1352 (1933-34) ...	24,100/- ...	22,400/-
1353 (1934-35) ...	28,600/- ...	24,100/-
1354 (1935-36) ...	18,300/- ...	18,000/-
1355 (1936-37) ...	18,100/- ...	18,700/-

Sunni Wakf Administration. The administration of the Sunni wakfs is in the hands of the three Sunni Qadis and, although the Government contributes to the expenses of the clerks who do the work, it has no knowledge of the methods or results of the administration.

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PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp. 486 647

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7 - and for each renewal Rs 5 -.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2 -, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lo-din Ahmed. [651]

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government. [167]

MUNICIPALITIES

Constitution and History. Manamah. Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town. 632

632 The Manamah municipality consisted originally of a council of eight members, with a president, vice-president, and secretary. Several of the councillors, as well as the vice-president and the secretary, were foreigners. Bahrain subjects were a minority, but at that time foreigners were more progressive than the people of the country. To-day, in municipal affairs, there is little difference between the two communities.

The municipality began by numbering all the houses in order to impose a house tax by which it could pay for cleaning the town and repairing streets and roads, and for some years it confined its activities to this work. Manamah used to be a filthy town. House refuse was thrown into the streets or on to mounds in open spaces, as is still done in the country villages. These refuse mounds in the villages have recently been discovered by cultivators as providing supplies of good manure. Vegetables, fish, and meat were sold under the most insanitary conditions, and the narrow lanes in the town and the bazaar were choked by leaking drains and open cesspits.

In 1920, Shaikh Hamad became President of the Council, with Khan Bahadur Mohammed Sherif, a Persian merchant, as Vice-President, and Haj Khalil Kanoo as Secretary. The members of the council continued to be appointed by the Government, but in 1926 the constitution of the council was changed. Ten members were appointed by the Government and ten were elected by the public. Every householder who paid a certain sum in house tax was eligible to vote. Each community was represented by one or two members, but elections were conducted in a casual way: there was no recording of votes, and persons wishing to sit on the council produced sheets of signatures, usually thumb-prints, which may or may not have been genuine. Usually the same persons were elected year after year, and a seat on the council came to be regarded as a family right. The permanent members became lethargic and took small interest in anything except opposing on principle any measures that might possibly affect their own pockets.

The last irregular election was in October, 1926. A year later it became necessary for the Government to intervene in the administration of municipal affairs. The council was dissolved, the Secretary and his assistant were dismissed, and a new election was held. A register of electors was published, the public recorded their votes in person, and for the first time a ballot-box was used. It was found at this election that the Jewish Hindu and Moslem Indian communities did not conform to the regulations necessary to entitle them to representation; although their members were sufficient, the Indian owned hardly any property in Muharrak. Each of these communities were invited by the Government to nominate a member, instead of electing one, who, if approved by the Government, would be given a seat on the council. The Jewish community agreed to the suggestion, but the Indians refused, and since then they have not been represented.

For the Ruler of the State to be President of the Municipal Council created a difficult position. When matters were discussed, voted upon and passed by the council, it was assumed that the presence of the Ruler during the debate signified the final acceptance of the measures by the Government. In 1929, Shaikh Hamad retired from the presidency of the council and appointed in his place Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa alKhalifah, who still continues to hold this office when he is in Bahrain. During the summers when he is away, Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa acts as President.

The council is elected for three years; the last election was in 1935, and the composition of the council was as follows:

The President	...	
The Secretary	...	
Arab members	...	5
Baharna ...	...	5
Negdis ...	...	2
Persian Sunnis	...	2
Persian Shias	...	2
Jews ...	...	1
		19

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A road in Manama

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Street in Muharraq

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632 **Muharraq.** The Muharraq Municipality, being a comparatively recent institution, has usually followed the lead of Manamah and has adopted most of its regulations. The election and composition of the council is similar to Manamah, but except two Persian members, all the councillors are Bahrain subjects. The Muharraq councillors are usually older men than those in Manamah and less enterprising and progressive. The activities of the municipality are restricted owing to its small income. During municipal elections in Manamah there is a great deal of excitement and canvassing, but in Muharraq very little interest is taken in municipal politics. The President of the Muharraq Municipal Council is Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa, who also acts as President of the Manamah Council during the lengthy yearly absences of Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa.

Municipal Finances.

Government Assistance. Soon after the Manamah Municipality was instituted, a pier tax, known locally as the 'Baladya tax,' was imposed on imports into Bahrain, which was intended to provide the funds for municipal expenditure. Later this system was found to be unsatisfactory, and in place of the proceeds of the pier tax a regular subsidy of Rs 2,000/- per month was paid by the Government to the Manamah Municipality. The same amount was paid to the Muharraq Municipality when it started, but during the financial depression both these subsidies were reduced by 50%. When conditions improved the allowances were restored to the original amount.

Half of the vehicle tax which is collected by the Government is divided between the two municipalities and is spent by them on upkeep of roads in municipal area. The cost of repairing, widening, and making new roads inside the towns is now considerably more than this subsidy.

In addition to the regular payments by the Government to the municipalities during the last year or two, special grants have been made for specific purposes, such as for filling in the pits at the back of Manamah, for cutting a new road through Ras Rumman to connect the Muharraq causeway, etc., etc. Although it would be possible to increase the monthly subsidy to the municipalities, I think that it would be very unwise to do so, as this would have the immediate result of causing the council to reduce the municipal house tax, which has already been reduced several times during recent years and is now very low. Unfortunately, in financial matters, the members of the council, who are usually large property owners, are influenced more by personal interests than by civic spirit.

[631] **Municipal Taxation.** Apart from the Government's subsidy, the chief income of the municipalities is obtained from the house and shop tax. In addition to this, revenue is collected from fees on animals slaughtered in the municipal abbatoir, a tax on gramophone records, application fees for erecting new buildings, coolie licences, dog licences, and a few other local forms of taxation, all of which amount to a comparatively small sum. Shops, offices, and stores are assessed according to the rental value at the rate of two annas in the rupee; houses which are let pay Rs -/1/6 in the rupee, but houses which are occupied by their owners pay house tax according to an assessment, which is made by a committee who have no method or system and who consider the status of the individual more than the value of the property when deciding how much shall be paid. This last arrangement is open to much abuse.

MANAMAH MUNICIPALITY

Year.		Revenue. Rs.		Expenditure. Rs.
1344	...	1,19,600/-	...	97,000/-
1345	...	1,11,000/-	...	90,000/-
1346	...	1,17,300/-	...	85,000/-
1347	...	1,10,800/-	...	1,03,000/-
1348	...	1,06,000/-	...	1,03,000/-
1349	...	62,000/-	...	68,600/-
1350	...	62,300/-	...	61,300/-
1351	...	55,000/-	...	60,900/-
1352	...	55,600/-	...	49,400/-
1353	...	58,200/-	...	35,900/-
1354	...	57,300/-	...	47,600/-

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632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

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Municipal Achievement.

Manamah. It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

Roads.

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were situated in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer contented with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

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Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was satisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

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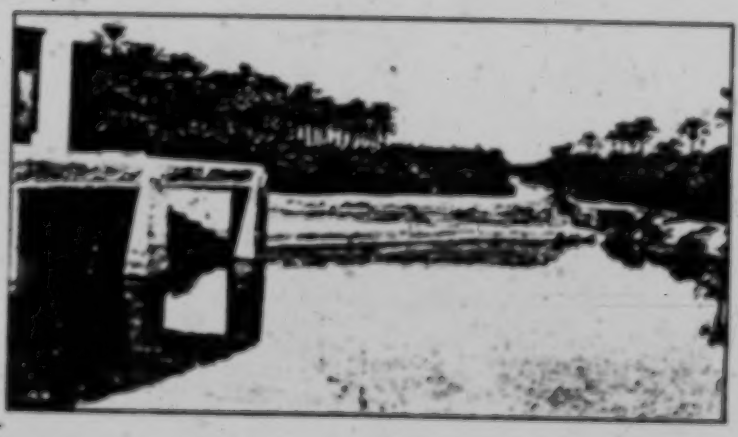
Above
An Artesian Well
(Showing head of water)

Below
A Natural Spring
(Adari)



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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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Fire Precautions, etc. In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the fort.

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Markets and Food Regulations. During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazaars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kouaibia, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier; and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

Public Health Measures. In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen persons.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

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women's dispensary in Muharraq, which is in charge of a midwife who was trained in Iraq and was for some years in the Basra Civil Hospital. The work done among the women is much appreciated and is, in my opinion, very valuable. Bahrain is notorious as being the one place in the Gulf where local midwives still administer a certain sort of treatment to women after childbirth which has the most disastrous effects on ensuing childbirth. It is hoped that the work of trained midwives will combat the local practices.

All stagnant water inside the municipal area is sprayed regularly with crude oil, which is provided free for the purpose by the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

Gardens, Cemeteries. About thirteen years ago the Manamah municipality bought a large piece of ground inside the town for a municipal garden. Two years later an artesian well was drilled there and a quantity of trees, mostly obtained from Karachi, were planted in the garden. The trees are now very tall, and the garden is much frequented by the public, especially during the hot weather, when quantities of people go there in the afternoons and sit on the shade under the trees. Part of the ground has been made into a small zoological garden, and the Bahrain Sports Club, by arrangement with the municipality, has built two cement tennis courts, which are much used. It has been proposed regularly for the last four or five years in the municipal council that on one afternoon the garden should be set aside for women only. Every year the motion has been defeated, but each year by a smaller number of votes.

Two large cemeteries, formerly open on all sides, inside the town were surrounded by stone walls in 1930, which has done much to improve the appearance of the part of the town where they are situated. The tomb of Shaikh Ahmed, the first Khalifah Shaikh of Bahrain, on the southern edge of the town, was repaired and walled at the same time.

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Muharraq Municipality. The work of the Muharraq municipality is less conspicuous than that of Manamah. The most important work after town cleaning and road widening has been the filling in of what used to be a noisome creek which reached from the shore almost to the entrance of the bazaar. The reclaimed ground is valuable, and is now occupied by stalls and the taxi stand. The sea road on the north of the customs office was built by the municipality about eight years ago, with assistance of a special grant from the Government. The question of extending this road is now under consideration.

Opportunity for town-planning is almost non-existent in Muharraq, as the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north much of the shore has always been flooded during high tides. The municipality has made some effort to preserve the low-lying land outside the town by building a long, low wall on the shore which keeps back the sea.

During the last two years the Muharraq municipality has carried out work in Hedd, where no municipality exists, widening the main road and filling in a long and very unsanitary sewer. The Government made a special grant for this work, which was outside the provision of the Muharraq municipality.

The town of Muharraq is very overcrowded, there are no open spaces or public gardens as in Manamah, and the streets are too narrow for trees to be planted in them. For that reason it is difficult to improve the appearance of the place. Houses in Muharraq are old-fashioned in style and, except on the sea road, few of them are detached, the bazaars do not contain any modern shops, and there are no public market buildings. For several years the commercial importance of Muharraq has been declining, though it is still a centre for pearl trading, as most of the biggest pearl merchants live there.

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MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

Year.	Revenue. Rs.	Expenditure. Rs.
1346	46,000/-	38,500/-
1347	62,900/-	59,600/-
1348	95,600/-	62,900/-

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Meat Market

Slaughter House

Head Waterside Harbour Master Customs

[facing 46A]

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Modern Villas in Manamah

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A Street in Manamah

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Municipal Garden, Manamah

[facing p. 46B]

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MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY (cont.)

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	Revenue. Rs	Expenditure. Rs
1349 ...	52,000 - ...	46,300 -
1350 ...	36,700 - ...	28,900 -
1351 ...	33,900 - ...	27,700 -
1352 ...	33,700 - ...	30,400 -
1353 ...	32,800 - ...	26,200 -
1354 ...	32,600 - ...	23,300 -

The Manamah municipality, after the Customs Department, is the longest-established public department in Bahrain. In the beginning its authority extended in various directions beyond the normal functions of a municipality: it controlled the police and it had some influence over customs matters. Owing to this reason, the municipality in the past has at times assumed rights over matters which do not concern it, such as objecting to the import of vegetable ghee on the grounds that the public could be cheated by its adulteration with real ghee; but during recent years the council has confined its work to legitimate municipal affairs.

The municipalities are encouraged as much as possible to manage their own affairs, they are not dominated by the Government, but they are given advice when they require it. The municipal officers and past and present members of councils have a certain civic pride, and they and the public, especially in Manamah, are proud of the work which the municipalities have done.

The community in Bahrain, especially the people in the capital, is passing through a period of transition. Manamah is no longer just a prosperous diving town depending almost entirely upon pearls; it is rapidly becoming the commercial centre of the Gulf and, in addition to this, Bahrain is now one of the important oil-producing countries of the world. These changes, which have been very rapid, produce many new problems, some of which have to be dealt with by the local municipalities, and so far, on the whole, they are dealing with them successfully. Among the possible developments for the future which have been considered at municipal meetings, apart from water supply and drainage system, which I have mentioned, are public libraries, public baths, hot and cold, and a workhouse for aged paupers.

THE PEARL-DIVING INDUSTRY

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General. For many centuries pearl diving has been the sole industry of Bahrain, on which the prosperity and the existence of the people has depended. Ten years ago it was still a flourishing concern, although big profits were not so easily made as they were some years before. Then came the collapse of the pearl market in Europe, and within a few seasons the diving industry in Bahrain shrank to a fraction of its former importance. The revenue of the Bahrain State depended, indirectly, on the pearl trade. It consisted chiefly of customs duties on imports, and when the pearl diving flourished, divers, merchants and boat-owners had money to spend in the bazaars and shop-keepers imported large quantities of goods to sell to the public. The slump in the pearl trade was reflected in the decline of the revenue. If oil had not been discovered in Bahrain the country would now be on the verge of bankruptcy.

The Diving System. Both the method of diving and the system of the industry are very ancient, as is shown by descriptions of Bahrain in books written by travellers many hundreds of years ago. Theoretically, the system is a fair one, the total profits of each boat, after deducting all expenses, are divided proportionately among the pullers, divers, and the caulafa, a puller receiving one share, a diver two shares, and the caulafa the share of five divers. There are various modifications of this system applicable in special circumstances, all of them well known and recognised in the diving community. In course of time, however, changes and abuses crept into the system. Originally the boat-owners were rich enough to finance their own boats for the season; then came a time when many of them were unable to find the large sum of money which was necessary to buy the provisions and to pay the advances which were made to the divers.

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The divers on their trade gained profits in selling and trading in pearls than the owners of the boats who brought the pearls from the banks. The nakhudas took to borrowing money from the shore merchants at the beginning of each season, and the shore merchants demanded interest on their loans. Because interest is forbidden by the Quran, it became the practice of the merchants to make their advances in kind, by handing over bags of rice, but if a receipt was given for one hundred bags, the recipient only received eighty bags, the remaining twenty bags representing the interest. This state of things existed over a hundred years ago and probably before then. The amount of interest varied, it was never less than 20%, and in most cases it was very much higher. All the divers, most of the nakhudas, and a great many of the merchants were illiterate, and no proper accounts were kept. Inevitably the divers suffered. The system of giving advances or loans to divers, which is also a comparatively modern innovation, was another arrangement by which the divers ultimately suffered. The diving season lasts for four months and ten days, while the year is four. When the industry flourished, divers, especially good ones, were in great demand, and the nakhudas gave them loans, on which very high interest was charged, to enable the divers to provide for themselves during the off-season. It became the definite policy of the nakhudas to bind their divers to themselves by keeping them in debt. The first loan to a diver was a genuine payment, though frequently in kind, but it was usually the heavy rate of accumulating interest on the original sum which made it impossible for the diver ever to repay his nakhuda, and so long as a diver was in debt he was bound to dive for the man to whom he owed money. Occasionally a diver would have a streak of luck and would earn enough to pay off his debt, but this did not suit his master, so the diver would be given a few bags of rice, which he always accepted, charged against him at ruinous prices, and the interest on the alleged cost of the rice would keep the diver tied again to his nakhuda. When a diver died his sons became liable for their father's debt, on which the interest accumulated until, when boys were old enough to start diving, they found themselves already saddled with a large debt. The divers were, and still are, utterly improvident, possessed with a gambling spirit, and eternally optimistic. They always hoped that one day they would be in a boat which found a really big pearl. There was practically no other occupation except diving, and while the men were young they were glad to dive; it was when they became old that they began to complain. These old conditions, for many years now a thing of the past, gave rise to the frequent and, in my opinion, previously justified criticisms in books and in newspapers which described the conditions of the Bahrain pearl divers as 'almost that of slavery. Unfortunately for Bahrain, journalistic delineations of the dreadful conditions among the pearl divers are of better news value, although previously exaggerated and now quite untrue, than descriptions of the real reforms which have been carried out in the industry during recent years. These criticisms, appearing from time to time in reputable papers, which only a few people who are, or have been, upon the spot recognise as being untrue, are most offensive to the Government of Bahrain.

The Reforms.

In 1923 His Excellency Shaikh Hamad, who had only recently been appointed Deputy Ruler on the suggestion of and with the support of Major Daly, who was then Political Agent in Bahrain, carried out in the face of almost universal opposition sweeping reforms in the diving system. The divers themselves, the nakhudas and the pearl merchants, were strongly opposed to any change. The divers had been persuaded that the reforms were against their own interests, and the merchants and nakhudas realised that the result of the reforms would loosen their hold over the divers and would reduce some of their profits which they obtained by cheating the divers. The movement, however, was supported by a few important and progressive pearl merchants, and by the Sunni and Shia Qadis, Shaikh Jassim Al Nehza and Shaikh Khalaf, who disapproved, on religious grounds, of a system in which usurers played such a part. After a bitter struggle the reforms were carried through.

A regular system of accounts was introduced and stiff penalties were decreed against persons who did not keep them properly. Every nakhuda was made to keep a ledger showing his profit and loss, expenses, and weight and value of pearls, and every diver was given a little account book in which his debt and his earnings were entered each season. A staff of clerks were employed by the Government to check and to make up the accounts between merchants and nakhudas and divers. The rates of interest on money lent by merchants and on advances to divers were limited to a certain percentage; the amount of the bi-annual advances, *bital* and *Tenjeen*, which were

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paid to the divers at the beginning and at the end of the season, were decided each season by the Government and announced by proclamation, and advances in kind were forbidden. The Salafieh Court, which consisted of certain notorious merchants and nakhudas, who were supposed to judge diving cases but who were invariably prejudiced in favour of their own class, was abolished, and diving cases were tried in the ordinary courts. It became illegal for nakhudas or merchants to make their divers work without wages in gardens or houses during the off-season, and when a diver died his debt died with him and did not pass on to his children.

The ultimate success of the reforms has been proved by the fact that now, more than thirteen years after they were started, the diving rules are still in force, and many of the men who opposed them most bitterly now admit that the reforms have been beneficial. Ten years ago, however, most of the big men in the industry were still actively antagonistic to the new laws, and for several years increment attempts were made by divers, as well as merchants and nakhudas, to evade and to upset the regulations.

Demonstrations by Divers. The time usually chosen for causing trouble was the occasion of the *Salaf*, the advance which is made to divers before the season begins, which they are supposed to use for buying food for their families while the men are at sea, and for purchasing anything which they themselves require while out at the banks. After the reforms, the amount of this advance, as well as the advance at the end of the season, was decided by the Government and announced by proclamation. It was the policy of the Government to reduce the amounts of the advances every year with the intention of reducing the divers' debts. For several years the issue of the proclamation was a signal for disturbances and demonstrations which were made by the divers but suggested and organized by a certain section of pearl merchants and nakhudas, who hoped to force the Government's hand and to overthrow the new regulations and revert to the old conditions. Besides the disgruntled pearl magnates, there were at that time plenty of other people who were dissatisfied with the Government and who welcomed any opportunity of stirring up trouble. Unfortunately, on two occasions when violent disturbances were made by the divers, the Ruler cancelled the proclamation and increased the advances. The divers, having got their own way by adopting violent measures, became each year more aggressive. On various occasions mobs of divers entered the bazaars and looted shops; usually they attacked the premises of an unpopular merchant or nakhuda. One of these demonstrations was made at the time of the Tenpenny advance, which happened to be on New Year's Day. When all the leading merchants were assembled at the Agency, listening to speeches eulogizing the happy conditions in Bahrain, a messenger arrived, saying that a mob of divers from Muharraq was looting the bazaar. Another year the divers went on strike and refused to take the boats out; finally, in 1932, a crisis was reached. Without any warning a mob of several thousand divers from Muharraq and Hidd, armed with clubs, iron bars, etc., landed on the shore at Ras Rumman, proceeded to the police station, which they attacked, released the prisoners, and started towards the bazaar. Some of the present police force, who were then new, local recruits and a few Punjabi police, were rushed to the scene. The situation was serious, there was a fierce fight all along the sea road from the customs to the Political Agency, and during the fighting the recruits, without orders, used their rifles. Four of the divers were shot and several were wounded. The mob dispersed, and this was the last time that the divers caused any trouble. Since then the amount of the advances has been decided at a meeting which is held every year between the leading men of the pearl trade and representatives of the Government, the responsibility for the decision is shared between the Government and the merchants.

The Slump. The continued decline in the pearl trade can be seen from the following figures. The estimate of the value of the catch is only approximate, and has been obtained partly by calculations based on averages from the actual figures supplied by the diving clerks. The diving clerks do not record all the amounts of all the boats, as many of the nakhudas employ their own clerks. The figures represent the amount paid to the nakhudas by the first purchaser, but before the pearls leave Bahrain they probably change hands many times, and each time at a considerably higher price. Ten years ago, important Indian and Continental pearl merchants used to visit Bahrain every year towards the end of the

229 diving season to buy pearls, but as the state of the pearl market deteriorated, these buyers ceased coming, and lately most of the Bahrain pearls have been sent to Bombay, to be sold to buyers for the European markets.

Year.		Number of Boats Diving.		Number of Divers.		Value of Catch. Rs
1345	...	515	...	19,250	...	Not recorded.
1346	...	507	...	18,500	...	"
1347	...	531	...	19,650	...	"
1348	...	538	...	20,150	...	"
1349	...	509	...	19,300	...	21,25,000/-
1350	...	504	...	17,600	...	18,32,000/-
1351	...	456	...	16,650	...	12,14,000/-
1352	...	436	...	16,000	...	13,40,000/-
1353	...	340	...	12,700	...	10,00,000/-
1354	...	316	...	11,550	...	8,33,000/-
1355	...	264	...	9,800	...	6,07,000/-

Note.—*Value of catch and number of divers is only approximate.*

Value of catch is calculated from actual figures of diving clerks, to which is added an average of those boats whose catches are not recorded by diving clerks.

Number of divers is obtained from the diving-boat licences, which specify that not more than a certain number of men may be carried in boats of the various classes. The number of divers may possibly be less than the figures given above, but not more.

Various causes have contributed to the slump in the pearl trade, the chief reasons being the recent years of financial depression in Europe and the success of Japanese cultured pearls. Other matters which have affected the market are changes in women's fashions, which tend to reduce the amount of jewellery which is worn, and the popularity and cheapness of motor cars and wireless sets. Nowadays men give women cars and wireless sets instead of pearl necklaces. There has been a very great increase in the sale of cultured pearls during the last five years, and their price has fallen correspondingly. When they first appeared on the market they were sold at about one-third the price of real pearls; now they cost less than one thirtieth the price of real pearls. This, in some ways, is an advantage. The cultured pearls are rapidly taking the place of the artificial pearls such as are made by Ciro and Tokio. Both these firms are now selling quantities of cheap cultured necklaces, and a cultured pearl necklace can be bought at a price only a little higher than that of a good artificial pearl necklace. The artificial pearl trade, according to a trade statement, has been affected to the extent of six million pounds since the introduction of cultured pearls.

Diving Mortgages. The depression has affected the diving industry in various ways. In times of prosperity merchants willingly advanced large sums of money to nakhodas with no security except the knowledge that they had first claim on the boats' catch, and that if the nakhoda became bankrupt the merchant could take over the boats and divers. Now, and for some years back, owing to uncertain conditions, no merchant will advance money for diving without taking a security for his loan, either title deeds of property or gold ornaments. Nakhodas, as a class, rarely owned land or immovable property except the house in which they lived, and in order to get money to equip their boats and pay the advances to their divers many of them mortgaged their houses. After several cases in which merchants foreclosed on mortgages and turned the nakhodas out of their houses, it was decided by the Government that the actual living house of a nakhoda should not be liable in case of a diving debt. The changed conditions brought to the front a few nakhodas who, because they happened to own gardens or other immovable property, were able to obtain loans more easily than many bigger men whose wealth was entirely in boats and divers.

Divers' Debts. One of the chief objects of the reforms was to reduce the debts of the divers to their nakhodas. Ten years ago, both merchants and nakhodas were opposed to any reduction in the advances because they knew that it would eventually result in divers being free to dive for whoever they chose; the divers themselves

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A Small Pearling Dhow

[Facing p. 60]

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have, naturally, at all times wanted as much as they can get. As conditions changed, the position became reversed. The Government has always realised that a small, genuine advance at the beginning of the season and during the off-season is necessary, but since money has become scarce in the diving community the Government has had to argue with the nakhudas and merchants to persuade them to make any advance at all. The following figures show the decrease in the bi-annual advances.

Year.	Tenguen		Sela.	
	Diver. Rs	Puller. Rs	Diver. Rs	Puller. Rs
1344	100 -	80 -	60 -	60 -
1345	80 -	60 -	100 -	80 -
1346	100 -	80 -	100 -	80 -
1347	100 -	80 -	130 -	105 -
1348	100 -	80 -	80 -	60 -
1349	55 -	45 -	—	—
1350	55 -	45 -	55 -	45 -
1351	30 -	25 -	30 -	25 -
1352	30 -	25 -	30 -	25 -
1353	30 -	25 -	30 -	25 -
1354	20 -	15 -	20 -	15 -
1355	20 -	15 -	20 -	15 -

The result of reducing the advances is that men who have begun diving during the last five years either pay off their debts altogether or owe only small sums to their nakhudas. Unfortunately, old divers who started before the reforms still owe large sums which they will never be able to pay off. Last year a record was made by the court of the debts of over 500 divers, all of them men owing money, of whom perhaps 50% had started diving before the reforms. According to these figures the average diver owed Rs 507/-, but out of the five hundred men, eight owed between Rs 2,000/- and Rs 3,000/- each and nine men owed over Rs 1,000/- each. As the diving industry has shrunk in importance, the value of a diver has declined. An example of this is the practice of nakhudas, who gladly cancel from half to one-third of a diver's debt if he is enlisted as a policeman, provided that he repays the rest of his debt at the rate of Rs 5/- per month. The old divers will never repay their debts, but the new generation of divers will never become heavily in debt unless Bahrain reverts to the state which existed before the reforms. Although nowadays nakhudas cannot afford to make large advances, they constantly complain that the new generation of debtless divers do not work as well as the old men who owed big sums. They complain that divers resent the discipline of the nakhuda while out at the banks, and they attribute, quite wrongly, part of the recent depression in the industry to the deterioration in the divers themselves. Men who have become divers since the reforms know that if they are ill-treated by their nakhuda they can resort to the courts. A few years ago, complaints about ill-treatment were frequent, but after several examples had been made, such complaints have almost ceased; there has been a similar decrease in complaints by divers about their accounts.

Transfer of Divers.

Certain local practices in the diving industry, which are not clearly understood outside Bahrain, are likely to be misinterpreted and to create an impression that divers are liable to be bought and sold. This is not the case.

If a nakhuda cannot find money to equip his boat and to pay advances, he lets his boat to another nakhuda, if he is lucky enough to find a tenant, and releases his divers on 'barats.' The 'barat' is a document issued by the nakhuda, allowing a diver to seek employment with another nakhuda for the season, within Bahrain, on the condition that the new nakhuda who takes on the diver pays to the original nakhuda one-third of the diver's earnings in part satisfaction of the diver's debt. If the diver finds work on shore, he pays a definite sum for the season to his nakhuda.

If a nakhuda becomes bankrupt because the merchant who finances him demands a settlement, the merchant has the right to take over the diving craft, at a valuation, and to take over the divers

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for the amount which they owe to their nakhuda. The divers then work for the merchant; if he owns boats he can order them to dive in his boats, but if he does not own boats he cannot employ them directly himself: he is compelled to give them 'baraas' to dive with any nakhuda who will employ them. If any diver has an objection to diving in the boat of a nakhuda who has taken him on from his original nakhuda, he is entitled to apply to the court, which issues him with a 'barua.' In the past it was the custom of the merchant who took over divers in this manner to employ them during the off-season on any sort of labour, but this was stopped when the diving reforms were made. The transfer of a diver from one owner to another without the diver having any right to protest used, certainly, to resemble a condition of slavery. If the merchant who takes over the divers is an ordinary shop-keeper, as is sometimes the case, he now has no right to place the divers out in other people's boats. His means of recovering his claim is from the one-third earnings of the divers if they happen to find nakhudas.

The Catch. During recent years the catch has deteriorated, and fewer large pearls have been found. It is said that there is a greater proportion of barren shells, but it is almost impossible to check this statement. There is a definite feeling that it would be advisable to close certain banks for a season or two, but this could only be done in conjunction with other Gulf pearling States. It has also been suggested locally that all diving should be altogether stopped for one season to give the banks a rest and to give an impetus to the pearl market. There would be an opportunity for those merchants who still hold big stocks of old pearls to dispose of them. I believe that if the banks were closed for a season there would be a recovery in the industry, but the employment of many thousands of divers for four months of the year would be a difficult and expensive problem, and no such scheme would be possible without the co-operation of other Gulf States. The market is now clogged by a number of big merchants, such as Shaikh Mohomed Ali Zainal who hold vast stocks of pearls which they bought when prices were high. These pearls have not yet been fully paid for, and many Bahrain merchants, the original sellers, are still waiting for payment. It is the practice for buyers of pearls to pay for them when they re-sell, and this system has become a vicious circle: until the big merchants sell they cannot pay the medium merchants, and until the medium merchants are paid they cannot pay the small men.

Recent Changes. The actual method of diving is still what it was centuries ago, but there have been some slight changes in recent years. In 1925, a motor launch was used by a pearl merchant, who went out to the banks and bought a number of pearls at a cheap price because none of the rival merchants were there to compete. This action roused a storm of protest, and a proclamation was issued by the Government forbidding the use of launches at the pearl banks during the season. It was announced that the following year there would be no such restriction. Next year several launches were used, and since then launches are always used by buyers, who go to the banks to buy from the fleet, and frequently for sending supplies out to the boats.

For some years the Government sent a large sailing boat, equipped as a hospital-boat, to the banks during the diving season. This arrangement was expensive and not very satisfactory. The boom has now been sold, and every year the Government sends out an Indian doctor in a motor launch, who makes several trips to the pearling fleet and, when necessary, brings back sick men to the shore.

At the time of writing, the Government, in order to assist the diving community in Bahrain, has reduced the licences for diving-boats by 50%, and has also postponed the date of payment of licences from one month before the commencement of the season to two months after the season begins. This action will result in a loss of revenue to the Government of about Rs 15,000/-, but it is expected that it will cause an increase in the number of boats which go diving in the summer of 1937.

It is difficult to prophesy the future of the diving industry. The demand for real pearls may possibly increase; there are many people in the pearl trade who are confident that the markets will improve, but not even the most optimistic think that the pearl business will ever again become what it was in the past, when both Arabs and Europeans made huge fortunes out of Bahrain pearls.

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Arabs and Baharna. There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

The Baharna. During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissensions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the *waḳf* administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead of two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the Baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

The Townsfolk. Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

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178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern customs, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

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177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to General European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

252 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Majlis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

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are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafés in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'cafés.'

Games.

The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

Class Changes.

The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

The Ruling Family.

The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

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still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrein. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrein, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrein, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and commissions and councils.

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The Women. Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrein read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrein. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

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One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young man look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrein is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrein is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrein to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

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[In preparing this source for inclusion in the file it was necessary to reproduce the chart facing p. 16 in four parts. The plan for proper assembling is as follows: